

The Outlook

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THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION HEARINGS

"A Federal Forum" would be a fit title for the hearings which have been taking place in New York City before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations. Whatever the import or value of the Commission's findings may be, the expression of opinion brought out before it is not only readable matter but is of momentous interest to all who are involved in the relations between capital and labor in the United States.

One question addressed to each witness summoned before the Commission was: "What do you consider the chief cause of the present industrial unrest?" The answers received to this general question merited attention, but the real interest of the daily proceedings has lain in the incidental remarks volunteered by the men testifying as to their social, economic, and political theories.

Perhaps the chief interest of the week centered around Mr. Henry Ford, automobile manufacturer, famous for establishing a minimum wage of \$5 a day for all adult workers in his factory. Probably Mr. Ford's guarantee "to take every man out of Sing Sing [prison] and make a man of him" aroused the greatest enthusiasm. The warning of the Chairman against applause may have served to forestall equally emphatic approval for another statement by Mr. Ford, that "no man can bring up a family and hope to own a home on the ordinary rate of wages, or can do good work mentally and physically for more than eight hours a day."

In a later interview with a reporter of the New York "Sun," along the lines of his testimony before the Commission, Mr. Ford said:

The greatest help in starting ex-convicts on the right road is for the public to abandon its suspicious attitude toward them, give them good jobs, pay them decent wages, and treat them as men.

A real man will give the other fellow a chance. Why shouldn't he? The convicts will make good if they have a chance. They have sowed

their wild oats and realize the value of work. We have men in our plant who have seen twenty-six years of prison life. They have made good. I could take the roughest fellow they've got in Sing Sing, give him a good job, and get him to be a man.

Out in Detroit we don't pay any attention to a man's record. That's the fault with society. It points its finger at ex-convicts. We don't. And we get after the police too if they hound the men. Besides, if a man says he doesn't want to work alongside of an ex-convict, the thing for him to do is to get out, not the ex-convict. If a man's too good to work beside a man out of prison, he's too good for us. We don't want him.

A typical example of Mr. Ford's attitude towards others is to be found in the story of a young man who came to Detroit, posed as Mr. Ford's son, and ran up a large bill at a hotel. In response to a query as to his present fate, Mr. Ford replied casually:

Oh, yes, we have him working for us. He has been in the hospital twice for two operations. He's a good fellow now. I was talking with him the day before I came here.

INDUSTRIAL UNREST

Among other witnesses before the Commission, Mr. Samuel Untermyer, the New York lawyer and promoter, answered the common question as to the cause of industrial unrest with, "Injustice of existing conditions and American ambition," and then declared that "capitalists surrender only when forced to; the individual worker when unorganized has not a fair chance."

The financial expert, Mr. Roger W. Babson, put the blame for industrial unrest on absentee control of corporations. "It is warfare—capital and labor—just warfare," he cried, and gave profit-sharing as his panacea for many evils. "But it must be real profit-sharing, not of the quieting-powder kind," he said. "It must be a genuine attempt to give the employee a greater share in the value of his labor."

E. J. Berwind, Jacob H. Schiff, and George

W. Perkins followed each other in uneventful succession. Interesting, if not profound, however, was the testimony of Mr. Daniel Guggenheim, of the American Smelting and Refining Company. Mr. Guggenheim said: "The difference between the rich man and the poor man is too great. The only way to get away from industrial unrest is to reduce that difference. No man should be refused a job if he wants to work. It is up to the State or the Federal Government to give it to him. Laborers have as much right to organize as capitalists; they are human beings. The workingman does not want merely an increase in wages; he wants comforts for himself and his family, and he will get them;" and "if it were not for the philanthropic work now being done there would be a social revolution."

DISCUSSION OR CURE?

We have given typical quotations from the minutes of the investigation conducted by Chairman Walsh and his Committee on Industrial Relations. It would be hard to deny that they make interesting reading. It would be easier to question whether such a hearing as we have here described furnishes the wisest and best approach to the great problems of industrial relations. Whatever one's opinion upon this matter, certainly it cannot be questioned that the Commission having such a duty in its charge should approach the matter with a careful and judicious spirit. There are indications in the remarks made by Chairman Walsh before the first session of this hearing was held that he considered his position to be one of a prosecutor rather than of a judge. Whatever his own view of his work may be, it is unfortunate that this impression of his attitude should be so widespread.

The Commission on Industrial Relations was founded, it will be remembered, practically coincidently with the division of the Department of Commerce and Labor, in tacit recognition of the fact that the problems of commerce and the problems of labor have an intimate concern with one another, and of the fact that, therefore, the solution of these problems can best be sought after under the guidance of a single organization. Problems of such far-reaching importance can hardly be solved, however, by the summoning of any number of distinguished gentlemen to give their personal opinion of the proper solution. In so far as such a

hearing stimulates public interest in the questions involved, it may be of definite public benefit; but in so far as the spectacular side of such a gathering of witnesses is permitted to overshadow the slow and necessary process of constructive and detailed investigation of actual conditions confronting both commerce and labor, such a proceeding is of doubtful value.

As widely noticed testimony as any was that of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who stated his attitude as a stockholder toward the conditions of labor shown in the strike in the Colorado mines, gave his creed as to the relative rights of labor and capital in the distribution of the products of industry, and told of the purposes of his father's gifts for science and for other public objects. Perhaps the most dramatic occurrence of the hearing so far has been his meeting with the strike leader "Mother Jones" (whose picture appears on another page in connection with the strike in New Jersey), and his consequent invitation to her to call and talk over labor conditions.

GETTING JOBS FOR THE JOBLESS

There are indications of increasing prosperity in this country; many individual industries are now in far better condition than they were a few months ago. But other industries are still embarrassed by war conditions and by industrial and financial restrictions not arising from war. What is needed, and needed instantly, is knowledge of the facts and a plan for men to get work, or (if it is impossible to give them work) to get relief. At a meeting in New York City recently, Mayor Mitchel, Judge Gary, of the United States Steel Corporation, Mr. Henry Bruère, Chamberlain of the city, and others discussed three questions: How Many Workers Are Idle? What is Being Done to Give Them Employment? What about Unemployment and Prosperity? The discussion was helpful and hopeful—perhaps with the emphasis laid too much on optimism for the future rather than immediate action. Mr. Bruère estimated that in New York 300,000 men are out of work—three times the normal number. Urgent advice was given to business men to keep men at work, on half-time and half pay if necessary, to use slack time to build or improve plants, to make reserve stocks for the future, to remember that the remedy for

unemployment is employment, and that every little helps; a postal card reading. "We are working nights and hiring more people," was applauded heartily.

More stimulating to direct and personal action was the mass-meeting at Carnegie Hall in New York on Tuesday night of last week. Here a large audience was stirred by Theodore Roosevelt to some practical purpose. In behalf of the Inter-Church Committee dealing with unemployment, Mr. Roosevelt told the story of his explorations in South America and of the descent of the "River of Doubt." By the sale of tickets \$7,000 was raised. But the audience was not to get off so easily, for while Mr. Roosevelt read apt and forcible passages from the Bible a collection of about \$7,000 more was taken up. Nor did that end the financial success of the meeting; for Mr. Roosevelt impelled others to give by announcing that he proposed to apply to the Committee's work \$10,000 of the \$40,000 Nobel Peace Prize money received by him in 1906. This \$40,000 was long ago passed over by Mr. Roosevelt to Congress to create a Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace, but nothing of value has been done. "I found," said Mr. Roosevelt, "that it had been under a napkin down in Washington ever since a Foundation was created to administer it."

"Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only" was one of the texts of what the speaker called a "sermon." He told of a "bundle day" in Cincinnati when 204,000 bundles of clothes were received, and warned his hearers to get ready for a bundle day in New York, for men who ask for work must be decently dressed. Mr. Roosevelt urged, among other things, that organized charity and city officials cut red tape; that cities begin at once all possible public work; that a Federal bureau act as a clearing-house for State and city employment bureaus; that National help should come through reclamation and river and harbor work; that the Municipal Lodging-House should be made a great human repair shop; that the State should form self-supporting farm colonies; that churches, police, neighborhood associations, and business men should work separately and together for effective dealing with a situation that will not brook delay.

The spirit of this meeting and this address should be the spirit with which this question should be dealt, locally and Nationally.

THE SLAUGHTER AT ROOSEVELT

Further reports confirm and strengthen the comments made last week in *The Outlook* upon the shooting by temporary deputy sheriffs, or hired gunmen, as one chooses to call them, of unarmed strikers at Roosevelt, New Jersey. Thus a newspaper investigation of the addresses given by the deputy sheriffs showed that in a large number of cases the addresses were those of business buildings or vacant lots, or in other cases that the men named never lived at the addresses given. The significance of this is in its support of the assertion that these men were not citizens of New Jersey, but were hired from a New York detective agency. In his charge to the Grand Jury in this matter Judge Bergen, of the State Supreme Court, charged that the sheriff had no right to appoint deputies not resident in the county, nor indeed to appoint "special deputies" at all. It was, he added, the duty of the Mayor to preserve order.

It is to the discredit of the owners of the fertilizing factories, in whose behalf these armed guards were employed, that after the shooting the so-called deputies were continued in their employ. A number of these men were placed under arrest, but newspaper accounts state that the men first arrested were not those who did the shooting, and there was the implication that the really guilty men were shielded and others put forward. Later several "deputies" were identified as men who had shot at the strikers, and they will doubtless be put on trial. No wonder that the strikers at Roosevelt—no matter what may have been the merits or demerits of their claims in the strike—listen eagerly to radical and indignant talk by representatives of the Industrial Workers of the World. A scene at such an indignation meeting is shown in a picture on another page.

The New Jersey Legislature has under consideration an investigation of the strike conditions at Roosevelt, of the shooting of unarmed men in a public place, and of the question whether additional legislation is necessary to prevent such incidents. One of the resolutions in its preamble declares that the sheriff of the county "appointed for duty as deputies men residing without his county who were paid and placed under the immediate direction and control of the said employers of labor." If this is so, additional legislation is surely

needed! If one of the parties to a labor dispute may hire irresponsible men from outside the State, heavily armed, and capable of the crime of shooting down men belonging to the other side of the controversy, on what appears to be slight provocation, on the public streets or railway station yards, and not within the premises they are supposed to guard, the inquiry may well be made, and made with emphasis, whether this condition of things exists widely in this country; and, if so, whether it is endurable or is consonant with our much-boasted ideas of liberty or justice. If the facts are as stated, there is little to choose between such a state of things and a Russian *pogrom*.

SENATOR LODGE ON THE SHIPPING BILL

In an able speech before the Senate recently, Senator Lodge voiced his opinion of the Ship Purchase Bill. In opposing this measure in its entirety and the purchase of ships from any belligerent in particular, Senator Lodge, though he laid by far the greatest emphasis upon the international difficulties that would confront us upon the passage of the Ship Purchase Bill, had this to say on the practical side of the question:

The vessels which it is believed the Government intends to purchase are those belonging to the North German Lloyd Line and the Hamburg-American Line. There are thirty-eight ships belonging to those two lines now laid up at American ports. . . . Some of those passenger ships are of the finest type, and the Vaterland is conspicuously one of the greatest of modern Atlantic steamships. It is safe to say that none of these ships are fit for cargo ships and freighters. The ostensible purpose of this bill is to buy ships to carry freight. . . .

Speaking generally, it may be said that passenger ships on the North Atlantic route between Europe and the United States are wholly unfit for freight carrying. In proportion to their tonnage they have very little space for freight. Their engines are constructed for the highest speed; their coal bunkers are built to carry a very large amount of coal; their machinery, together with the accommodations for passengers, including dining-saloons, reading-room, bath-rooms, etc., take up a large amount of space, which leaves very little for cargo. The freight ordinarily carried in these vessels in normal times is what is generally called fast freight, consisting of goods of great value and comparatively small weight and size, where speedy delivery at a high freight rate is desirable, and where the goods are so valuable as to

bear the rate without loss. To attempt to use ships like these as general cargo carriers would be absurd on its face. . . .

The only practical way of getting a steamer thoroughly suitable for any trade is to build her particularly for that trade. The operation in any trade of any steamers not suitable for that trade seriously increases the cost.

Senator Lodge pointed out, in some contradiction to the views of the writer of the article on the Ship Purchase Bill in this number of The Outlook, that our South American trade is suffering, not from a lack of shipping, but from a lack of purchasing power in the Southern republics. Furthermore, in his discussion of the South American trade, Senator Lodge showed very clearly that ships must not only be built for a particular purpose, but, to be used with the greatest economy, must be constructed for particular voyages. None or few of the German ships in our ports are therefore adapted for the South American service. The long tropical voyage that must be undertaken at moderate speed is a very different proposition from the costly express service of the North Atlantic.

Why, as Senator Lodge has asked Congress, with such potent reasons against the launching of our Government into so hazardous a field of commercial operation, handicapped by tools so ill adapted for the purpose for which they are offered, is the Administration so insistently bent upon the accomplishment of its desire?

An editorial discussion of this bill is to be found on another page.

THE DACIA, THE SHIP PURCHASE BILL, AND ENGLISH OPINION

Those who, in opposition to Senator Lodge, contend that the transfer of German ships to American registry since the outbreak of hostilities will be accepted by the Allies with equanimity or with any willingness to abate what they consider their rights under international law, should read with attention the leading editorial in the London "Spectator" for January 24. This editorial, a judicial statement of the attitude of the English people in the present crisis, gives adequate testimony to the international difficulties which will be raised for this country if the Administration persists in its intention to force through Congress the Ship Purchase Bill. Says the "Spectator":

Englishmen . . . cannot help feeling at this moment acute anxiety and alarm at the way in

which we are drifting toward the danger of a collision with the United States. . . .

When we say this we are not alarmed about any special incident or any visible rock ahead. No doubt we shall get over the commercial intrigue under which the Dacia has been bought and set sailing as a test case. Again, even if President Wilson is able to convince his countrymen that there is nothing unfriendly in the United States first providing our enemies with a million or two of ready cash and then employing the former German mercantile marine to supply the needs of our enemies under the protection of the American National flag, it is very possible that the good sense of the diplomats and naval officers of the two countries will be able to accomplish a miracle and prevent a regrettable incident on the high seas.

What we are much more concerned about than these specific plans for bending the neutrality of America in such a way that it will bring material aid to Germany is the want of understanding of the situation, both military and moral, shown by the American Government and a large section of the American people.

The "Spectator" has no desire to charge America with being hostile to England in the sense of desiring her failure in the present war. The "Spectator" believes, however, that the American Government and a large portion of the American people misunderstand the attitude of the English people towards such a problem as is raised by the transfer of the Dacia to an American owner or by the Ship Purchase Bill. The "Spectator" says of Americans :

They do not understand that, instead of our being less inclined to stand up to them now than we were in peace time, we are ten times more likely to prove combative, or, as they would say, unreasonable. They think because we are in a tight place they can ask things from us which would not be asked in peace, and we must yield to necessity, yet in reality exactly the contrary is true. A temper of stern determination, which is the only temper compatible with success in war, prevents us from adopting old easy-going methods.

That the boot of commercial expediency was once on the other foot the "Spectator" frankly admits, and forestalls any *tu quoque* argument in the present crisis by admitting the failure of English governmental opinion to respect the moral issue of our own Civil War. Here is the Spectator's confession and charge :

We can only compare the feeling that now exists in England to the feeling of bitterness

and disappointment Lowell expressed so poignantly in his famous ballad "Jonathan to John." Every word of it stings like a whip on our ears. The Americans of the North felt very sore at the time of the Civil War because they had counted so confidently upon English public opinion being against slavery at all costs. Yet they saw many men of light and leading here going wrong and helping the cause of slavery, though at the same time professing to be dead against slavery, just in the same way that the British people thought the American Government would be certain to be against treaty-breakers and the men who harried Belgium.

The Outlook believes that the "Spectator" underestimates the strength of American public opinion on the moral issues involved in the violation of Belgium. This matter of the attitude of our Government toward the moral issues of the war we consider at greater length elsewhere in this issue.

AMERICAN NEUTRALITY: A DENIAL OF DISCRIMINATION AND INDIFFERENCE

The form through which the Administration has denied current charges that the United States Government has been partial to the Allies in the present war is somewhat unusual ; but the statement is clear and convincing as well as specific and exhaustive—it fills over four closely printed newspaper columns.

The statement, signed by Secretary Bryan, and doubtless carefully prepared as to the detail by the experts of the State Department, is a reply to a letter from Senator Stone, of Missouri. Senator Stone is Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate. There is a large German population in St. Louis, and he has received from German-Americans in his State many protests against alleged partiality by our Government. It is quite natural, therefore, that the question should be raised in this form.

We briefly paraphrase here some of the things pointed out by Secretary Bryan, although we advise all our readers to take the trouble to obtain and read the complete document both on account of its importance at the present juncture and as a most instructive discussion of international law. We are all the more pleased to recognize the value of this document because we have dissented positively from the Administration's course in other matters, and have criticised the views and the spirit of the Secretary of State.

Wireless messages are "censored" and

cable despatches not, because a belligerent nation can cut—and in this war has cut—submarine cables, but cannot intercept wireless code messages; so that war orders by wireless may be sent out from a neutral country to belligerent war-ships, thus making the neutral country a base for naval operations. As to charges that American letters on neutral ships have been destroyed, the truth is that all the combatant nations have censored mail and all have held back letters, but there have been no charges filed with our Government that mail has been destroyed. Neither have American ships been detained or searched for German or Austrian subjects, with two exceptions, as to which our Government has made vigorous representations to the offending nation. It is charged that Great Britain has violated the rules of the Hague Convention and the Declaration of London as to contraband, which met with the plain statement that there is no Hague Convention rule on the subject, and that the Declaration of London is not in force. Wherever seizures and detention were, in the opinion of our Government, contrary to international law it has made earnest representations to Great Britain. In this connection it is pointed out that our protests are sometimes limited by the fact that some practices and doctrines which now bear hardly upon neutrals were adopted by the United States when it was a belligerent.

Certain other complaints, as that Great Britain now for the first time includes copper and other things as absolute contraband, and as to interference with American trade to neutral countries and to Germany and Austria, are answered also by reference to the protest formally made to Great Britain by this country, or by a denial that the charges made have a basis in fact. When new conditions arise, new rules as to contraband may be made for itself by any combatant nation; thus copper, petrol, rubber, and other substances are to-day of great use in war, while they were not so formerly. The assertion that the United States has not interfered with the sale to the Allies of arms, horses, and munitions of war generally is answered by reciting the basic principle of international law that neutral citizens have a perfect right to sell such things to combatants and have always done so in all wars; for instance, in the Russo-Japanese War and in the Balkan War German manufacturers sold arms to the belligerents without the slightest limitation or objection

by anybody. It is the business of a belligerent, not of a neutral, to keep arms from an enemy. As to the charges that the United States ought to, but did not, suppress the sale of dumdum bullets to Great Britain, it is shown that wherever charges have been made thorough investigation has followed at the factories, and that no evidence of such sale was forthcoming nor has since been produced by the persons making the charges, although the records of the manufacturers were laid before them.

It is asserted that British ships have been allowed to lie off American ports too much; if ships are not actually in American waters we cannot interfere, but international law recognizes "hovering" as an offensive practice, and we have notified both the British and the Japanese Governments that this is objectionable to our Government. It is charged that Great Britain has disregarded American citizenship papers and passports. The fact is that we have had some trouble of this kind with all the belligerents, have protested in every case, and have obtained a better condition; the worst thing in this direction came to a head in the arrest of four persons of German nationality who obtained (or are charged with obtaining) American passports under pretense of being American citizens. As to loans from financiers in this country to belligerents, the Government has no right to prevent such loans, but in one case at least the President by expressing his wish has exerted his influence against a proposed loan, and it was not carried into effect.

So with half a dozen other classes of charges of a minor nature put forward by German sympathizers through Senator Stone; in each case the facts are given, and it is very hard to see how any person who really advocates non-partisanship in conduct by our Government can doubt that genuine effort has been made to avoid discrimination, and to follow recognized principles of international law whether they help or hinder either of the combatant countries. Particularly we note a clear statement as regards the Declaration of London, which ought to put at rest the frequent implications in the press that the United States or Great Britain or any one else is bound by that Declaration, except so far as the country concerned has voluntarily stated its intention to follow its doctrines.

No doubt the circumstances of this war, and especially of the sea side of the war, are such that one side suffers more than the other

when the laws of war and international practice are strictly followed. That, however, is not the business of our Government. To strain those laws or to change those laws during the war so as to help or injure either side is the one thing that most of all must be avoided by a nation which is honestly seeking to be neutral.

MILITARY AFFAIRS IN CONGRESS

Public opinion within the last few months has undergone a radical change towards the question of National defense. The result has been, not a demand for "turning the country into an armed camp," but for such definite reorganization of our naval and military forces as is required by our immediate needs.

In accordance with this demand a certain amount of progress has been made. The Naval Committee of the House has improved upon the inadequate recommendations of Secretary Daniels, and has advocated the creation in the Navy Department of a permanent Bureau of Operations, similar in function to the excellent General Staff of the army. In the past the navy has suffered severely from the lack of what may be called a "committee on warmanship." In an address before the Efficiency Society, Admiral Austin M. Knight, President of the Naval War College at Newport, recently said: "It is a singular fact that the organization of the Navy Department takes no account of the relation of the navy to war. War is the one thing for which no arrangement has been made. In all the legislation creating the seven bureaus there is not a word about keeping the Nation in preparedness for war or conducting it after it begins."

The Military Committee of the Senate has given unqualified support to the recommendations of Secretary Garrison, recommendations as conservative as they are commendable. Unfortunately, however, at the head of the House Committee on Military Affairs there still remains Representative Hay, who has repeatedly demonstrated his inability to give impartial consideration to military problems of vital National importance. It was Representative Hay who a few years ago attempted to destroy the General Staff of the army and to restore the state of disorganization that existed prior to the Spanish War. He did succeed, indeed, in establishing an enlistment period that is opposed by a great majority

of the progressively minded officers of our army, and in forcing upon the army a farcical reserve system which it is to the financial disadvantage of a discharged soldier to join. How well this system has worked in practice may be illustrated by the story that Representative Gardner has recently invited the entire reserve army of the United States of America to dinner! The owners of Madison Square Garden or of the Coliseum in Chicago need not have their interest aroused in this function by any hope that their buildings will be required, for there are less than twenty men to whom invitations could have been sent.

It is very much to be regretted that at this time the reorganization of our military establishment should come under the direct influence of Representative Hay.

CARDINAL MERCIER'S PASTORAL LETTER

The text of the famous pastoral letter issued by Cardinal Mercier, Primate of Belgium, has now been published. It is not too much to say, we think, that no document in connection with the present war is at once so moving and so effective.

It is moving, in the first place, because of its description of Belgium. "Our beloved little Belgium" Cardinal Mercier describes as "a nation so faithful in the great mass of her population to God, so upright in her patriotism, so noble in her King and Government. . . . She bleeds; her sons are stricken down within her fortresses and upon her fields in defense of her rights and of her territory." The Cardinal continues:

If any man had rescued you from shipwreck or a fire, you would assuredly hold yourselves bound to him by a debt of everlasting thankfulness. But it is not one man, it is 250,000 men who fought, who suffered, who fell for you so that you might be free, so that Belgium might keep her independence, her dynasty, her patriotic unity, so that after the vicissitudes of battle she might rise, nobler, purer, more erect and more glorious than before.

Pray daily, my brethren, for these 250,000 and for their leaders' victory; pray for our brothers in arms; pray for the fallen; pray for those who are still engaged; pray for the recruits who are making ready for the fight to come.

In your name I send them the greeting of our fraternal sympathy and our assurance that not only do we pray for the success of their arms and for the eternal welfare of their souls, but that we also accept for their sake all the dis-

treasure, whether physical or moral, that falls to our own share in the oppression that hourly besets us, and all that the future may have in store for us, in humiliation for a time, in anxiety, and in sorrow. In the day of final victory we shall all be in honor; it is just that to-day we should all be in grief.

So much for Belgium as represented by her men. Now for Belgium as represented by her buildings:

Churches, schools, asylums, hospitals, convents in great numbers are in ruins. . . . In this dear city of Louvain, perpetually in my thoughts, . . . the ancient college of St. Ives, the art schools, the consular and commercial schools of the university, the old markets, our rich library with its collections [the former professor at Louvain must have had a special pang as he chronicled this], its unique and unpublished manuscripts, its archives, its gallery of great portraits of illustrious rectors, chancellors, professors, dating from the time of its foundation, which preserved for masters and students alike a noble tradition and were an incitement in their studies—all this accumulation of intellectual, historic, and artistic riches, the fruit of the labors of five centuries, all is in the dust.

PUBLIC ORDER IN BELGIUM

As to public order, Cardinal Mercier's pastoral letter reads in part as follows:

I have not met a single ecclesiastic who has incited civilians to bear arms against the enemy. All have loyally followed the instruction of their bishops given in the early days of August to the effect that they were to use their moral influence over the civil population so that order might be preserved and military regulations observed. . . .

I do not require of you to renounce any of your national desires. On the contrary, I hold it as part of the obligation of my episcopal office [the Cardinal is also Archbishop of Malines] to instruct you as to your duty in face of the power that has invaded our soil and now occupies the greater part of our country.

The authority of that power is no lawful authority. Therefore, in soul and conscience you owe it neither respect nor attachment nor obedience. The sole lawful authority in Belgium is that of our King, of our Government, of the elected representatives of the nation. This authority alone has a right to our affection, our submission. Thus the invaders' acts of public administration have in themselves no authority.

But legitimate authority has tacitly ratified such of those acts which affect the general interest, and this ratification, and this only, gives them juristic value. Occupied provinces are not conquered provinces. Belgium is no more

a German province than Galicia is a Russian province. Nevertheless, the occupied portion of our country is in a position it is compelled to endure. The greater part of our towns, having surrendered to the enemy on conditions, are bound to observe these conditions.

From the outset of military operation the civil authorities of the country urged upon all private persons the necessity of abstention from hostilities against the enemy's army. That instruction remains in force. It is our army, and our army solely, in league with the valiant troops of our Allies, that has the honor and the duty of national defense. Let us intrust the army with our final deliverance.

Toward those who are holding dominion among us by military force . . . let us conduct ourselves with all needful forbearance. Some among them have declared themselves willing to mitigate as far as possible the severity of our situation and to help us to recover some minimum of regular civic life. Let us observe the rules they have laid upon us so long as those rules do not violate our personal liberty or our consciences as Christians or our duty to our country.

Let us not mistake bravado for courage or tumult for bravery.

THE VOICE OF AUTHORITY

With these noble words regarding Belgium, the Belgians and public order, the Cardinal's religious appeal is yet more moving. Both in the civic and in the religious domains he speaks with the voice of authority. He is indeed a great Belgian, profoundly grieved by the dreadful distress of his country, profoundly inspired by the passionate patriotism of the Belgians, profoundly defiant of wrongful invasion, and yet at the same time profoundly convinced that there must be public order.

When such a man speaks religiously, he unites the citizen and the prelate. His voice is doubly effective in reaching the heart. And this pastoral letter will assuredly reach the hearts of all men of whatever communion throughout the world.

The sublimest part of the letter is the part in which the Cardinal declares his confidence in God, and his confidence in his prayer to God. To him the fear of the Lord is indeed the beginning of wisdom. "The nations that made the attack and the nations that are warring in self-defense alike confess themselves to be in the hands of Him without whom nothing is made, nothing is done."

And then comes this passage of chronicle

and of hope, which should be read by every one :

Men long unaccustomed to prayer are turning again to God. Within the army, within the civil world, in public, and within the individual conscience there is prayer. Nor is that prayer to-day a word learned by rote, uttered lightly by the lip ; it surges from the troubled heart, it takes the form at the feet of God of the very sacrifice of life. The being of man is a whole offering to God. This is worship. This is the fulfillment of the primal, moral, and religious law : The Lord thy God shalt thou adore, and him only shalt thou serve.

In the centuries that have gone great pastoral letters have been written by popes and bishops. Sometimes, as in the case of a Hildebrand, they have been mighty with papal authority ; at other times, as in the case of a Gregory the Great, they have been moving with spiritual power and trust. With its note of an authority which defies all lesser authorities and its equally strong note of pastoral love, the present letter will take, we are sure, high place, not only among the great documents of a great Church ; it will also take high place among those essentially human documents which have most moved the world.

THAT "SCRAP OF PAPER"

"I am surprised to learn that my phrase 'a scrap of paper,' which I used in my last conversation with the British Ambassador in reference to the Belgian neutrality treaty, should have caused such an unfavorable impression in the United States. The expression was used in quite another connection, and the meaning of it implied in Sir William Goschen's report and the turn given to it in the biased comment of our enemies are undoubtedly responsible for this impression."

The speaker was the German Imperial Chancellor, Dr. Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg ; the place, the general field headquarters of the German armies in France. The Chancellor was talking with a representative of the Associated Press, who telegraphed the statement to this country. The correspondent adds Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg's explanation that he had spoken of the treaty, not as a scrap of paper for Germany, but as an instrument which had become obsolete through Belgium's forfeiture of its neutrality, and that Great Britain had quite other reasons for entering into the war, compared with which the neutrality

treaty appeared to have only the value of a scrap of paper.

The original "scrap of paper" statement was made on August 4, 1914, and its explanation was not made until January 24, 1915. Why this lapse of time ? Was the explanation not worth making ? Or can it be that the Chancellor was slow in realizing what he says was in his mind ?

In his rejoinder recapitulating Anglo-Belgian relations, Sir Edward Grey declares that "the treaty which forbade the wrong was by comparison [to German military necessity] a mere scrap of paper." The general conclusion has long been that expressed by Cardinal Mercier in his pastoral letter : "The Powers were bound to respect and protect her [Belgium's] neutrality. Germany violated her oath. England kept hers."

CONDITIONS IN GERMANY AND ENGLAND

The effect of the war upon Germany has now been shown by the sweeping regulations put into effect by the Government for the conservation of the food supply—the seizure of all stocks of and payment for wheat, corn, and flour by February 1, and the forbidding of all business transactions in these commodities from January 26. Moreover, all municipalities are charged with the duty of setting aside suitable supplies of preserved meat. These regulations will cut deep. They are necessary, however, the Government explains, "in order to make certain a sufficient and regular supply to our people."

Much has been said about the prostration of trade in England because of the war. There is prostration in those industries which have to do with the manufacture and sale of luxuries. But of those which have to do with the manufacture and sale of necessities apparently only the cotton trade has suffered. We can appreciate this here because the decline in British cotton imports has been reflected in our cotton-growing States.

That the British Government is not unmindful of the importance of the European cotton market to us may be gathered from its action in putting cotton on the non-contraband list. As to export, the difficulties of transportation due to the war checked the outgo of cotton goods from England to the great markets of India and China. Yet at no time, says Mr. Runciman, President of the British Board of Trade, "not even when the

activities of the Emden were at their height, was an eastern trip scheduled under our war risk insurance scheme as a prohibited voyage."

As to Atlantic transportation, Mr. Runciman explained to a New York "Times" correspondent that, "although the tramps' rates have soared in extraordinary fashion, the American Line, along with the White Star, Cunard, and Atlantic Transport Lines, raised rates only twenty-five to fifty per cent." Some of these lines have been put to the extra expense of being diverted from their normal ports.

Much has been said about unemployment in England, despite the withdrawal from the labor market of some two million men now serving with the colors. We learn, however, that in Lancashire, the cotton-manufacturing district, where the greatest amount of unemployment was supposed to be, the percentage in November was nine per cent and in December only six. We should be glad for our own sake, as well as for Lancashire's, that the percentage was not greater.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Runciman believes that when the war ends there must be a general reduction of armaments if its ravages are to be repaired.

PROFESSOR OSTWALD AND THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPSIK

In a "Letter to a German-American Friend," published in the editorial pages of The Outlook for January 6, there appeared a striking quotation from an interview with Professor Ostwald, a recent winner of the Nobel prize for chemistry, and a member of the faculty of the University of Leipsic. In this interview Professor Ostwald outlined his views of the terms of peace which Germany would exact from the defeated Allies. He declared that Germany "wants to organize Europe, for up to now Europe has never been organized. . . . Germany, thanks to her genius for organization or social efficiency, has attained a stage of civilization far higher than that of all other peoples. This war will in the future compel these other peoples to participate under the form of German social efficiency in a civilization higher than their own."

In commenting upon this, the writer of the "Letter to a German-American" voiced The Outlook's opinion that "social efficiency based on force cannot exist in a country

whose citizens believe in freedom of conscience and political action."

Apparently Professor Ostwald's statement has attracted unfavorable attention in Germany itself, for, according to an announcement published in the "Frankfurter Zeitung," the rector and the Senate of Professor Ostwald's own university have voiced their displeasure at the natural reaction in foreign countries to his injudicious remarks. This is the announcement that appeared in the "Frankfurter Zeitung" under a Leipsic date line:

"The Rector and Senate of the University of Leipsic announce the following: In the course of an interview given to certain Swedish reporters a few weeks ago, Dr. Wilhelm Ostwald, Professor emeritus of Leipsic University, described Germany's probable political plans for the future, prophesying in particular the formation of a mid-European alliance under the supreme leadership of Germany. He furthermore expressed himself concerning the present strengthening of the religious life in Germany in a way calculated to cause widespread and deep offense. Undenied by Professor Ostwald, these remarks have been circulated in the newspapers of every country. We deeply regret that a professor of a German university should have been guilty of such irresponsible utterances, and disapprove most emphatically of Professor Ostwald's action, through which he has done our country great harm."

It will be noticed that the authorities of the University do not repudiate the sentiments which Professor Ostwald avowed, but simply deplore the consequences of their expression; and, moreover, it will be remembered that Professor Ostwald's remarks were quoted as but one of several indications of the attitude of Germany towards civilizations foreign to her own particular genius.

MAKING AIRCRAFT SAFE

The use of aeroplanes for commercial and recreative purposes lags because of the large percentage of accidents that still accompanies the use of the machines. The human factor in using flying-machines, as in operating railways, needs the assistance of automatic devices of every available kind to supplement the inevitable moment of diverted attention that spells disaster. Various inventors are at work on the problem of rendering the use of the aeroplane less hazardous. It seems safe to say that substantial progress

has been made in this direction by the device of Mr. Elmer A. Sperry called the gyroscopic stabilizer; though perhaps the most significant statement in the reports of the experiments recently made in New York City with the Sperry instrument was that the inventor "still has adjustments to be made on the machine" before it is perfected.

The device, however, has demonstrated its value as to the principle involved. The experiments both in this country and in France (where the inventor last summer won a first prize of 50,000 francs for his device) show that an operator may temporarily abandon the control of his aeroplane without impairing its stability if the gyroscopic stabilizer is in operation. If this or some similar device can be further improved so as to meet certain professional objections, a new era will undoubtedly open to the world of aviation.

The chief difficulty in safely operating an aeroplane lies in the danger of overbalancing the apparatus when a sudden gust of wind strikes it from an unexpected direction, taking the aviator off his guard. The stabilizer is designed to correct the upsetting movement. The Sperry apparatus, which has been fully described in the "Scientific American," consists essentially of four gyroscopes, which are small globes of metal weighing only two pounds each. These are hung in a sort of cage composed of two rings, one horizontal and the other vertical. The cage is universally jointed and can oscillate around both lateral and longitudinal axes. The gyroscopes revolve in pairs, in opposite directions, at the enormous speed of 12,000 revolutions a minute. The entire apparatus weighs only forty-five pounds and is operated by a small dynamo.

The action of the gyroscope is familiar to every child who spins a top or rolls a hoop. So long as the top or hoop is motionless it tends to fall, but it will remain upright while it is rotating. It is this principle that is applied in using the gyroscope to keep an aeroplane from turning over. The stabilizer is thus designed to do automatically what is now done by the aeronaut's sense of balance. At present the hand wheel in front of the aviator controls the vertical movement of the nose of his machine, while the lateral throw of his body corrects or guides the horizontal tipping. Without the stabilizer he "feels" a wrong movement of his machine and corrects it. With the stabilizer he cannot "feel" his way. Many experienced aviators do not

wish to surrender their control and trust a mechanical device. The Sperry stabilizer allows either human or automatic control, the stabilizer being operated only while the aviator so desires. If the stabilizer can be so perfected as to demonstrate its superiority under all conditions to the operation of human muscles, its use on all aeroplanes is only a matter of time.

Such a device, perfected, will be to the safe navigation of the air what the invention of the self-righting, non-sinkable lifeboat has been to the safety of life at sea.

CALIFORNIA AND THE JAPANESE

There has always been a large and very intelligent minority in California opposed to the kind and form of anti-Japanese legislation which passed the Legislature two years ago, and the spirit and manner of the agitation against the Japanese which has been going on for a number of years. The presidents or deans of seven colleges in that State have recently united in a statement in which as American citizens and residents of California they express their deep conviction that the good will heretofore characteristic of our relations with Japan has been one of the most fortunate experiences in our international history; and that, in their judgment, an appreciation of its effects is firmly established among the thoughtful people on the Pacific coast.

They not only record their strong opposition to any additional anti-alien legislation, but they are equally strongly opposed to "any and all anti-alien legislation of whatever sort which is discriminatory in character," and in this they express their belief that they are representing the most thoughtful citizens of California; and they call the attention of the Japanese to the fact, which ought to be remembered in both countries, that it is "the bitter word and the aggressive act with its sinister interpretation that find quickest and most manifold speeding on their way," while the deliberate and worthy counsels of society are slow to find expression. This declaration, coming from a group of colleges and universities in the southern half of California, will be welcomed by the country at large, which, while it understands the necessity for the control of immigration, disapproves and resents all legislation which in spirit and form is unfriendly to a friendly nation.

Still more immediately important is the

statement issued by Governor Johnson in which, after recalling the fact that for many years anti-alien land bills have been presented to the Legislature of California, all of them permitting leasing for a longer period than three years, two years ago the Legislature enacted a statute in the face of great opposition which, the Governor says, "embodied our Nation's treaty and upheld the rights and the dignity of the people of the State of California." Several bills have already been introduced into the Legislature amending the law passed two years ago by striking out the clause permitting the lease of land. Governor Johnson declares :

This year there is no occasion for further action. No valid reason exists why our Alien Land Bill, passed with so much difficulty two years ago, should again be presented to the Legislature for amendment, and there are many reasons why it should not. It is my hope, and to this end, so far as consistently I can, I shall lend my aid that the existing law be not disturbed .

This will probably put an end to any attempt to pass further legislation adversely affecting Japanese residents in California during the present session of the Legislature.

A NEW ART CENTER

At the recent joint session in New York of the American Academy of Arts and Letters and the National Institute of Arts and Letters the announcement was made that a beautiful site and a gift of \$100,000 towards a building fund had been made by an unknown donor. The name of the donor has now been made public ; Mr. Archer M. Huntington, the founder of the Hispanic Museum and President of the Geographical and Numismatic Societies, has presented eight lots of land in the block on which the Hispanic Museum stands, a very beautiful site in the northern section of New York, overlooking the Hudson River, between Broadway and Riverside Drive, on One Hundred and Fifty-fifth and One Hundred and Fifty-sixth Streets.

These organizations are National in their character and aim to include among their members representative workers in the arts—sculpture, painting, architecture, literature, and music—and to foster and aid the development of the arts in the United States by a closer fellowship between workers in all parts of the country, by the guardianship of their interests, and by the use of such influence as the two bodies may possess in the development of the love of art and its prac-

tice in private homes, public buildings, the beautification of cities, and in every other form in which American civilization may express itself.

The building which is to house the two societies will be harmonized in general architectural design with the group of buildings devoted to art and education in the immediate neighborhood, and will afford the opportunity of giving the country another example of sound architecture which, like the Morgan Library, will set a standard of beautiful building. It will not only serve as a home for the organized creative art of the country, but it will be a tangible evidence of American interest in art and a symbol of the extraordinary progress which Americans have made in many departments of art during the last twenty years.

The National Institute, it will be remembered, was founded by the Social Science Association. Its membership is limited to two hundred and fifty. The Academy of Arts and Letters, chosen from the members of the Institute, is limited to fifty members ; and both organizations have the common purpose, in a spirit of democratic comradeship, of recognizing all promising workers in the arts, guarding their interests, and aiding in their development.

A MORE BUSINESSLIKE CONSULAR SERVICE

The passage by Congress of the Stone Bill, making more mobile our consular service, calls attention to our general history with regard to consular reform.

Until 1854 there was little change in the organization of that service. In that year the service was reorganized, and the form of organization was continued until President Cleveland's executive order in 1895. That provided for the filling of consulates where the annual salaries did not exceed \$2,500 by transfer or promotion, or by new appointment *after an examination*. That was a notable event in the progress of the American system as applied to our civil service.

After years of effort, in 1906 Congress passed the Lodge Bill, classifying the consular service, and two months later an executive order, drafted by Secretary Root and approved by President Roosevelt, was issued providing for the establishment of certain features embodied in the early form of the bill which had passed Congress, but which had been dropped. The order extended the

scope of the Cleveland order to grades above \$2,500, filling them entirely by promotions from lower grades, and provided not only that the examinations should be of a higher order, but that no person graded at less than eighty per cent should be eligible for certification. This reform was further strengthened by President Taft's executive order of 1910.

Of course these executive orders might be withdrawn by some reactionary President. Hence much effort was made to get legal sanction for them so that they could not be revoked or ignored in practice by any Executive. A reform which affected the businesslike conduct of the whole service was that with regard to transfers. Every time a transfer was made the Senate's time had been taken up with the necessity to confirm the appointment. This seemed an unnecessary waste, as in many cases transfers were made within what ought to be one grade. It was felt that appointees in the consular service should be made to general grades instead of to specific positions, so that any official might be transferred from post to post within the same grade merely by executive order, the Senate's consent being asked only in the case of promotions and demotions. Exactly this is provided by the Stone Bill, which, we are glad to say, has now passed Congress.

THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE EARTHQUAKE

During the ten days succeeding the first fearful shock of the earthquake in Italy, slight shocks were felt at Avezzano and other near-by towns in central Italy. These disturbances caused many walls already cracked to fall and kept the populace in a state of terror.

During those days Rome received an ever-increasing number of refugees. There are perhaps ten thousand now in the capital. They are being cared for at various institutions, the orphan children receiving special attention at the new orphanage which the Queen has created by transforming a part of the royal palace. She is giving her personal attention to the orphan children, some of the cases being most pathetic.

The King and Cabinet have issued several remarkable decrees for the alleviation of distress in the earthquake district.

First, the expenditure of six million dollars is authorized to aid the victims. With this amount shacks for the homeless will be

erected, damaged buildings repaired, roads cleared and reopened for traffic, and agricultural and commercial life restored as far as possible to normal conditions.

Second, the collection of taxes is to be suspended in the affected area.

Third, a moratorium for five months is to be established for bills of exchange and commercial paper throughout this area.

Finally, the payment of the salaries of school-teachers is guaranteed.

So far as we know, these decrees are without precedent in any similar exigency.

SWISS OPINION

A great deal has been said to the effect that the French Swiss are ready to take up arms for France and the German Swiss for Germany.

Now, Switzerland is made up of three racial elements—French, German, and Italian. It is natural that, under any circumstances, there should be sympathies for France at Geneva, for Germany at Zurich, and for Italy at Bellinzona.

If the present war is that of two civilizations, Germanism and Latinism, it would seem as if the Swiss were morally already engaged. The "*Gazette de Lausanne*," that well-known organ of Swiss Latinism, explains that "what we love in France with all our hearts is her human achievement, the spiritual illumination, for which the whole world is her debtor; it is that, and not material power nor . . . vain jingoism. That which we love in her with fervor we shall always love." As it has distinguished between the loftiest and the less lofty in French civilization, so in German civilization the "*Gazette*" distinguishes between Germanism and Pan-Germanism: "Everything great that the Germans have accomplished in the world will remain great, no matter what man may say or do. No one can take away from the Germans their spirit of orderly methods, the cleanness and capital care of their towns, the exactness of their administrative mechanism, the excellence of their public services, the minute patience of their learned men, the enthusiasm, equipment, and, if one goes back a bit, the wide vision in the spirit of their writers—all that we have understood so well that we have taken it as a model."

That is Germanism. Now for Pan-Germanism. "It is the deviation of Germanism," declares the "*Gazette de Lausanne*." "Pan-

Germanism is a crazy notion. Fancy a Berne man, a Zurich man, an Appenzeller, smiling with beatitude as he contemplates the idea of a universal monarchy!"

Moreover, "Pan-Germanism is militaristic. Can you imagine the people of Uri or Unterwald assembled in their cantonal meetings, wearing high hats and swords, about to abdicate their democratic dignity?"

Of course no one can fancy any of the sturdy folk from these regions of German Switzerland doing anything of the kind. Hence the writer justly concludes as to the Swiss in general: "We are not far one from the other. There is in us a common and solid source of prejudice and antipathy, not for men so much as for institutions and régimes. We shall never entirely and absolutely begin by agreeing on what we want, because our particular characteristic is to unite ourselves together in opposition. But we have perfectly clear minds as to what we do not want."

AMERICA'S DUTY AND THE RULES OF WAR

We Americans have been passing judgment upon the governments of Europe in this time of war. We have been passing judgment upon Austria's treatment of Servia, upon Germany's treatment of Belgium, upon Russia's treatment of the Jews and the Finns, and some of us have been passing judgment upon England's motives in entering the war. It is about time that we Americans should form our judgment concerning the attitude of the Government of our own country.

War is a test of character. It is like fire, that shows what part of the structure is gold, silver, and precious stones, and what part is wood, hay, and stubble. It is like a fierce light which reveals the defects that are concealed by darkness, and brings out into relief the excrescences and blemishes. The greatest crises in a man's life show his character. It is the greatest crises in the world that show the character of nations.

This war, for instance, has shown the world the real character of Belgium. That little nation, which only a short time ago seemed materialistic, has been shown by the light of war to possess a soul of heroism.

How is the American Nation standing the test of war?

There are two judgments about America.

One is the judgment which we Americans have welcomed: That America is the land of liberty, the land of justice to all men, of equal law for all, of brotherhood and comity. The other judgment is that which some foreigners have passed upon us: That America is the land of the dollar, the land of commercialism, of self-seeking, of the desire to "get rich quick." Which judgment is true?

The answer is to be found not in what individual Americans think or say, nor even in what Americans as individuals may do in the way of generous giving to those who are suffering the privations of war; it is to be found in what our Nation does as a whole, in its formal and official action and utterances.

It will help us to form our own judgment if we listen reasonably to that of others. Here is the judgment of one. It is expressed in the Toronto "Globe:" "There is something morally wrong with the man, whether Canadian or American, who can picture the indescribable sufferings of the Belgian people without a sense of rage and indignation at those responsible for that ruthless and calmly deliberated crime. There would be something wrong, cowardly, and criminal in the Canadian nation if, under the circumstances, Canada did not, at once and to the last power, strike for Belgium's defense and for the defense of innocence and the preservation of honor among the nations. More than that. The civilized world will convict the American Republic of wrong and of cowardice and of complicity in the worst international crime since Napoleon's unpardoned offense if that free Nation, itself the heir of all the ages of struggle for liberty, does not soon, and in terms the world will understand, make straight and solemn protest, in the name of international law, to the world's court of public opinion against Germany's violation of international agreements to which the United States was a pledged party. . . . A nation that loves righteousness is under compulsion to abjure iniquity."

Let us listen to another voice—it is that of the London "Spectator:" "Can it be wondered at that, even though we may be unreasonable, and though, of course, we ought to see the American case and so forth, we feel out of heart that America seems to reckon up the matter in cold dollars and cents rather than in terms of flesh and blood and human suffering?"

It is easy to resent such strictures; but

resentment will do us no good. It is easy to say that these judgments are passed by those who are facing the perils and are stirred by the emotion of war. But the real question is whether they are true or not. And the way to find out whether they are true is not by answering back, but by looking the facts in the face. What do those facts show?

They show that the American Nation, as a Nation, has made its solemn representation to one of the belligerents, not on a question of flesh and blood, of humanity, of justice to the defenseless, but on a question of American profits in trade.

If we want to see ourselves as others see us, we can perhaps do so if we will remember how, under similar circumstances, we saw another. In 1861 to 1865 this Nation was engaged in a great struggle over questions of human right and human liberty. On the one side were the forces of the North fighting against slavery and for "liberty and union." On the other side were forces which, though engaged in the defense of the institution of slavery, were supported by the faith of people who believed that in the right of secession were bound up their own liberties. And what did we of the North and of the South see in the English nation? Apparently only an interest in cotton. Lord Palmerston was a great statesman, but we cannot forget that he said, in an interview, "We don't like slavery, but we want cotton, and we dislike very much your Morrill tariff." It was at this time, when the best blood of the North and of the South was flowing in defense of great political convictions, that the London "Times" spoke of the United States as "this insensate and degenerate people." The London "Spectator," in the very editorial from which we have quoted, and which we report more fully elsewhere, recalls this time when British "men of light and leading" were "going wrong and helping the cause of slavery, though at the same time professing to be dead against slavery." We cannot forget that the British Government was at that time showing a preference for pounds, shillings, and pence over questions of humanity and liberty to such an extent that Henry Ward Beecher was sent to England to put before the people of England the issue of right and wrong in contrast to the question of the supply of cotton, and that Beecher encountered such opposition that for a time his very appearance in public meant turbulence. Americans judged England sharply for what

she did then. We should listen to the judgment of England on what America is doing now.

And it is not as if we had had no chance to make our voice heard regarding questions of honor and liberty and public law. We had our chance—a very great chance—even before the storm of war actually broke. To the rule that neutral territory should be kept free from invaders we had pledged ourselves by hand and seal. Every foreign nation as well as our own Government knew that Belgium was in peril. We could have sent an identical note to every European nation that in case of hostilities this country expected Belgium's territory to be kept inviolate. We lost that chance when the first German soldiers passed the Belgian border. Still we might have spoken, even though our protest could not have prevented what the German Chancellor has acknowledged to be an international wrong. Morally we were bound to speak, and technically we still had the right to speak. But the time passed and we continued our silence. Six months have gone by. The only sign of interest which our Government has officially shown in the effects of the war has been an interest in copper, and cotton, and foodstuffs, and the like.

Has, then, all chance for setting ourselves right been lost? We are convinced that it has not. The true beliefs and interests of the American people can still be voiced. The United States is not concerned solely with one violation of a single Hague Convention; it is peculiarly concerned with the maintenance of the whole spirit and purpose of the rules of civilized warfare.

In 1863 there was issued by the Government of the United States a code of rules originally known as "General Orders No. 100," and now known as "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field." It was prepared by Francis Lieber, LL.D., and revised by a board of officers. It is generally understood that the phraseology as well as the contents was molded by the hand of Abraham Lincoln, and the orders received his approval and were published by his command. These orders have been recognized as an authority on the usages of war by all civilized nations since that time, and suggested to Bluntschli his codification of the law of nations. They may well be called Abraham Lincoln's rules of war. There are one hundred and fifty-seven of them. They distinguish between

martial law and military oppression. They disclaim cruelty and bad faith, extortions and acts of private revenge. They subject "military necessity" to the "laws and usages of war." They recognize that men in arms remain "moral beings, responsible to one another and to God." They record the growing distinction between the private individual of a hostile country and its men in arms. They distinguish between retaliation and revenge, and emphasize the necessity for careful inquiry before retribution. They denounce as a breach of the law of war the forcing of subjects of the enemy into the service of the victorious government. They insist on the protection of works of art, libraries, scientific collections, and precious instruments, as well as hospitals, against all avoidable injury. They affirm the need of protecting women and the sacredness of domestic relations. They denounce and prohibit wanton violence, pillage, rape, etc. They recognize as entitled to the privileges of prisoners of war men "who belong to the rising *en masse* of the hostile country." Without protecting men or squads of men who commit hostilities "with intermitting returns to their homes and avocations," they deny to any belligerent the right of treating "every captured man in arms of a levy *en masse* as a brigand or bandit." They place outside of civilized warfare the practice of giving no quarter. They recognize the necessity for the humane treatment of prisoners, and prohibit the extortion of information from prisoners. They guard the sacredness of flags of protection (of which the Red Cross flag is the most conspicuous modern instance) and of flags of truce. And they declare that "civilized nations look with horror upon offers of rewards for the assassination of enemies as relapses into barbarism." The principles underlying these and the other rules are perhaps most succinctly stated by this one rule, numbered 68:

"Modern wars are not internecine wars in which the killing of the enemy is the object. The destruction of the enemy in modern war, and indeed modern war itself, are means to obtain that object of the belligerent which lies beyond the war.

"Unnecessary or revengeful destruction of life is not lawful."

It is upon the principles embodied in this rule and exemplified in the other rules that the Conventions at The Hague were based. It is because the nations of the earth which

were civilized enough to observe laws for individuals within their borders recognized that there was also an unwritten moral law of civilization as between nations that they established those Hague Conventions. The violations, therefore, of the Hague Conventions are something much more serious than even the breaking of a pledged word. They are attacks upon this fundamental law of civilization. Excuse for such violations cannot be found in any technical defense, for the fundamental law which those violations break is not based on any technicality. If any nation in the world is interested in maintaining the public law of nations, this fundamental law of civilization, it is the United States. To allow the violations of that law to pass unnoticed is to be unfaithful to civilization.

That there have been violations of this public law of nations in the war now raging there is no doubt. That law was violated in the invasion of Luxemburg and Belgium, and it is charged that that law was violated in Chinese territory. It has been violated in the dropping of bombs by airmen upon civilians and upon private property, whether the towns in which such civilians were killed and such property destroyed were defended or not. It has been violated in the deliberate bombardment of undefended towns and undefended districts in great cities. It has been violated by pillage, by the levying of illegal contributions upon at least one province and several cities, by the exaction of collective penalties for individual acts, by the demand for millions of dollars of merchandise from private parties. It has been violated in the needless bombardment and destruction of monuments of religion, education, and art. It has been violated in the forcing of inhabitants of occupied territory to furnish information about the armies of their own nation. It has been violated in the laying of mines in the open sea. It has been violated in raids by sea and land, and by other measures whose only possible military consequence, and therefore whose evident object, was to strike terror into the hearts of non-combatants. In addition to undeniable facts there have been official accusations which go to show that in this war there has been exhibited time and time again a ruthless brutality that cannot be explained as the irresponsible action of individual soldiers, but involves the deliberate military policy of responsible officers.

If there had never been a Hague Conven-

tion signed, the moral interests of the United States in these infractions of the public law of nations would still be plain. The fact that there are Hague Conventions and that the United States has signed and confirmed them makes all the more plain not only the interest of the United States in these infractions, but the right of the United States to say something about them.

In the face of these facts, how can the United States remain silent? It is the plain duty of our Government, supported as it is by the public sentiment of our people, to let the belligerents know what the United States thinks about these "relapses into barbarism." To say that a protest issued by the United States on this subject would mean war, as some have said, is to ignore the fact that we have already undertaken a protest, and there has been no sign of our intending to take part in the war. The only difference is that the protest we have made is a protest about our pocketbook, while the protest concerning the violations of the rules of war is a protest that concerns humanity and morality.

America's duty concerning the violations of the rules of civilized warfare would, we believe, be fulfilled in part, if not in full, by a note addressed and sent to all the belligerents, if not to all civilized governments. Such a note should be drafted by at least as practiced a hand as that which prepared the recent statement concerning munitions of war and other matters affecting American neutrality. It should set forth the fundamental character of the public law of nations on which the rules of war are based. It should recount not only those rules of war which have been explicitly stipulated in writing by common agreement of the representatives of the nations, but also those rules which may be said to form a part of the international common law of war. It should recount the nature of the violations of those rules, and point out, at least as explicitly as the protest with reference to neutral trade, the character of the acts that have been a denial of civilization. Whether the guilty nation or nations be specified or not matters little or nothing. Whoever finds that the cap fits can put it on.

By such a protest we believe the American Nation can yet do much to mitigate the war; for no nation, however indifferent to public sentiment, will care to invite the condemnation of the American Government. If the United States is to have any part in deter-

mining the nature of the peace that is to follow this war, as President Wilson believes that it will, its influence will be determined largely by the course it now assumes; and if its influence then is to be for international morality, it cannot ignore international morality now.

UN-AMERICAN AND UN-DEMOCRATIC

There is a general expectation that the President will veto the Immigration Bill because of the literacy test which it imposes as a condition of admission to the country. As *The Outlook* has more than once pointed out, this is a very serious objection. It would be futile as a protection against undesirable citizens, and it would keep out much of the best material for American citizenship.

But there is another objection to the bill: it would make an end of the historical hospitality of this country to political refugees. If it should receive the signature of the President or be passed by Congress over his veto, the United States would cease to be an asylum for lovers of liberty from Europe. In that event the Democratic party would go on record as denying one of the fundamental principles for which it has always contended, and closing a door of which it has always assumed a noisy guardianship.

Under the provisions of this bill no Russian immigrant who belongs to a society which has had for its object the subversion of a tyranny which Americans universally regard as intolerable could be admitted to this country; any member of any revolutionary society which aims to free a country from an unbearable autocracy would be denied the right of entry into a country which secured its liberties by the use of force against an established government. Members of revolutionary societies who aim at freedom are classed by this bill with anarchists and destructionists who aim at the subversion of all government. And, what is worst of all, the fate of any political refugee applying for admission can be decided by a secret tribunal.

The analysis of the working of the bill which Mr. Kennan presented in *The Outlook* last week brought out very strikingly the radical change of policy in the American attitude towards lovers and workers for freedom in all parts of the world, and showed

also the extremely un-American, star-chamber methods which will be employed by the boards who examine immigrants and report upon their qualifications.

In principle, in provision, and in method the Immigration Bill is at variance with the spirit, history, and temper of the American people. It is one of the most undemocratic measures ever presented to Congress; and if it passes that body over the President's expected veto, it will put upon our statute-books a law which will change the traditional American attitude from hospitality to the lovers of freedom into a determined antagonism. It will close a door opened by the Revolutionary War and kept open ever since. It would be the very irony of political history if that door should be closed by a party loudly professing democratic principles.

THE SHIP PURCHASE BILL: ITS DANGER AND FOLLY

Is it the chance at a bargain that is behind the Administration's desire to purchase a fleet of ships as a nucleus for an American merchant marine? On the bargain counter is a great fleet of German steamers interned in American ports. It is a reasonable presumption that these ships can probably be bought cheaply because they are incurring large charges for depreciation and upkeep at a time when their owners are in need of ready money. Certainly in any commercial venture such a combination of circumstances would lead the most casual observer to look for a bargain.

There are other elements to be considered in the search for a bargain, however, than the price of the article to be bought. In the particular instance of these German ships there are four decisive questions to be considered before the real value of these idle ships to the American Nation can be determined:

What are the needs of the United States? An answer to this question is given in Miss Laut's article in this issue.

Can the ships that are for sale satisfy this need? An answer to this question has been given in the Senate by Senator Lodge, whose speech is reported on another page of this issue.

How will the purpose of the Government to purchase these ships square with the history of our Government?

How will it square with our duty as a neutral to the nations now at war?

Concerning these last two questions The Outlook has already in previous issues registered an emphatic opinion. Perhaps this opinion can profitably be restated here.

At this time, when Congress has found it necessary to put a special direct war tax upon the country, it seems folly to inaugurate a revolutionary policy of Government ownership, a policy which is put forward even by its chief advocates merely as a temporary measure of relief. At a time, too, when ordinary questions of international law have become dangerous mines in the pathway of neutral nations, folly seems to us a light word to apply to such a proposal. In view of the position which England has taken in regard to the transfer of shipping from a belligerent to a neutral Power after the outbreak of hostilities, it seems as though the Shipping Bill should be entitled, "A Measure to Promote Strained Relations between the United States and Great Britain."

Entirely apart from the question of valid registry that is involved in the purchase of ships owned by any belligerent Power, it is a recognized international right for any belligerent to stop a neutral ship upon the high seas and search it for contraband of war, and in certain cases to take the ship into one of its own ports and there have, by one of its own courts, the question tried whether it is violating neutrality. This recognized right always involves some peril to the friendly relations between the belligerent making the search and the neutral nation whose ship is subjected to the search. It is easy to see that if a ship owned and managed by the United States Government should be thus stopped and searched on the high seas many people in America, knowing nothing of international law and the rights of belligerents, would be indignant. It is easy to see that those who sympathize with the Germans or are prejudiced against Great Britain will be peculiarly liable to be angered by such an incident, and would be sure to excite the spirit of resentment in others.

There are no more loyal citizens in America than the great bulk of those born of foreign parents. Nevertheless there are Irish-Americans who would be glad to excite American hostility to Great Britain, and German-Americans who would be glad to secure American support for Germany. We do not vouch for the report that the Shipping

Bill has been secretly pushed upon the Administration by certain German-American and Irish-American interests, but we do know that if those interests were represented by men both shrewd and unscrupulous they could not easily invent any better way of provoking hostility between the United States and Great Britain than is afforded by the Shipping Bill.

THE GOOD SAMARITAN WITH A NEW PROBLEM

Sir :

January 28, 1915.

I find in my Outlook of January 27 the following lengthy editorial :

A PARABLE TO BE COMPLETED

A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves. And as they were stripping him of his raiment and wounding him, a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where they were; and when he saw them, he . . . ?

Please tell me what you mean by suggesting a revised version of the parable of the good Samaritan. Did you want your readers to puzzle out for themselves the question as to what would have been the duties of that good citizen had he come upon the traveler while the thieves were beating him? Were you thinking of the general right of a man to resist evil when it is somebody else's cheek that is struck, and of the difference between turning the cheek and turning the back? Or were you thinking of a still more particular application to the relations between England and Belgium or the United States and Mexico? I want to know.

Yours sincerely, M. B.

We think these questions can best be answered by carrying the new parable of the good Samaritan to what we regard as its logical conclusion, and the reader can decide whether it applies to Belgium or Mexico. We believe it applies to both. As it is a somewhat difficult matter to improve upon the English of the King James Version and its revision, perhaps we may be permitted to take as much as we, in the writing of our parable, need for our purpose from that storehouse of thought and phrase :

THE GOOD SAMARITAN

A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves, and as they were stripping him of his raiment and wounding him, a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where they were; and when

he saw them he cried out with a loud voice, "Ye are worthy to be beaten. Put away the evil of your doings from you." And they who heard his words heeded him not, and his anger was kindled greatly against them.

Then the Samaritan said : "I cry out 'Violence!' but I am not heard. I myself will fight with a strong arm." And he went up and fell upon them, and smote certain of them; and the Lord brought the fear of him upon them, so that they fled and went forth to hide themselves.

Then the Samaritan bound up the wounds of him who had gone down from Jerusalem, and comforted him, though the blood ran out of his own wounds into the ground. And he said, "No man shall set on thee to hurt thee." And when they had rested a while they went on their way towards Jericho.

And as they journeyed they met a certain priest, and likewise a Levite, who were going both of them together; and the Samaritan told them what had befallen him. Then the priest and the Levite looked the one unto the other as though they said in their hearts, "Verily, this man is a fool. He is not patient, but a brawler in public places to his own hurt." Then said the Levite aloud to the Samaritan : "Such another man who had fallen among thieves did we find upon the road from Jericho, and we consulted together with one consent. And we said, 'There shall be no loss of life among us for this man's sake.' So we abode under a tree and set a watch against them, saying, with the Prophet Daniel, 'Blessed is he that waiteth.' When the thieves have done, they shall be judged by the law of liberty. But when they had done, the man was dead, and the thieves fled every one to his own country. So there was need neither for succor nor judgment."

Then the Samaritan answered them straightway : "Are ye not ashamed, ye double-minded? Should such a man as I flee? Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. Wipe not out my good deeds that I have done, nor laugh them to scorn."

And the priest and the Levite lifted up their eyes to the Samaritan and said, "Hast thou eyes of flesh, or seest thou as man seeth, that thou inquirest after our iniquity, and searchest for our sin?" And they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads.

THE STORY OF THE WAR

BY GREGORY MASON AND GEORGE KENNAN

I—A REVIEW OF THE WEEK

BY GREGORY MASON

THAT commander wins who "gets there fustest with the mostest men," said picturesque General Forrest, of Civil War fame. This is a paraphrase of Napoleon's famous dictum that victory is to the big battalions. On land and sea the primer rule of strategy is to be at the point of encounter in force superior to your enemy.

Never was this axiom truer than to-day, and never was the importance of having heavier guns than your opponent better illustrated than in the naval battle in the North Sea off Ameland Island—the principal event of the week January 20–27, and the largest naval battle of the war thus far—unless reports of that contest at hand as we go to press are woefully twisted. London and Berlin agree that the squadron of Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty, which met the westward-steaming German fleet off the Holland coast, consisted of the battle cruisers *Lion*, *Tiger*, *Princess Royal*, *New Zealand*, and *Indomitable*, and several smaller cruisers and destroyers, while the German flotilla, besides small craft similar to those just referred to, comprised the battle cruisers *Derfflinger*, *Seydlitz*, *Moltke*, and the armored cruiser *Blücher*. London and Berlin also agree that the *Blücher* was sunk, but London claims that two of the German battle cruisers were badly damaged, which Berlin denies, while the German contention that a British cruiser and two British torpedo-boats were sent to the bottom is flatly contradicted by the English Admiralty. The British admit, however, that the *Lion* and the destroyer *Meteor* were so badly damaged that it was necessary or desirable to tow them into port.

The Germans do not name the British vessels which they allege have been sunk, and, as they have brought forward hardly any evidence to support their claims, it seems fair to assume—as the bulk of the American press is assuming as this is written—that the North Sea fight was a defeat for Germany.

Upon this assumption, then, we go back

to our original statement that this battle was won by the side having the preponderance of metal, as most modern sea fights have been won. In this respect it was like the battle of the Bight of Heligoland, the duel between the *Sydney* and the *Emden*, the conflict off the west coast of South America when Admiral Cradock was out-metaled and defeated by the Germans, and like the Falkland Islands battle in December when the conquerors of Cradock, gamely fighting against tremendous odds, were sent to join the English sea-dog in Davy Jones's locker.

The main issue in this affair off the Dutch coast the other day was settled between the *Lion*, *Tiger*, *Princess Royal*, *New Zealand*, and *Indomitable* on the one hand, and the *Derfflinger*, *Seydlitz*, *Moltke*, and *Blücher* on the other. Seeing themselves outmatched, the Germans, who were probably *en route* for another raid on the English coast similar to the recent attack on Scarborough, were following the best accepted strategy in turning tail and scurrying for the shelter of their mine fields, even though in so doing the three battle cruisers of the Kaiser left the slower-moving armored cruiser, the *Blücher*, to be pounded to pieces by the guns of the fast, heavy-hitting ships which are the very flower of the navy of King George.

SPEED AND GUNS

A few statistics make the story of this combat simple enough. The four German ships had a combined displacement of 90,830 tons; the total tonnage of the five British vessels was 116,750. Four of the latter in speed were about on a par with three of the former, but the ill-fated *Blücher* was from one to three knots slower than the other German ships and all but one of the British. Of heavy guns Admiral Beatty's quintet of sea bulldogs had twenty-four 13½-inch rifles and sixteen 12-inch guns against the eight 12-inch, twenty 11-inch, and twelve 8.2-inch weapons of their opponents. It was merely a question of speed and gun power, particularly gun power.

Germany's much-heralded "campaign of attrition" seems to be going against her. Although she has yet to lose a battle-ship, sixteen of her cruisers have been removed from her service, including six of the most powerful vessels of this type in her navy, *i. e.*, the *Blücher*, *Yorck*, *Gneisenau*, *Scharnhorst*, *Friedrich Karl*, and the *Goeben*—which was sold to Turkey. Altogether she has now lost thirty-three ships, with a total displacement of 147,640 tons. Great Britain has lost twenty vessels with a combined tonnage of 156,145 tons. With her more extensive facilities for building vessels, England's navy will never be "worn down" at this rate.

This battle suggests several interesting subjects for speculation. A not improbable result will be an abandonment of Teutonic attempts to harry the coast of England in ships, and a consequent increase in the number of aerial attacks that may be expected. But for naval experts this sea fight had its greatest interest as a conclusive test of the battle cruiser, a type of vessel first built by the British Admiralty in 1908, and later taken up by the Governments of Germany, Russia, and Japan. The distinctive feature of the battle cruiser is great speed combined with the all-big-gun battery of the battle-ship. Usually it is necessary to sacrifice some armor protection on the battle cruiser in order to get this speed, but the sacrifice seems to be worth while. The fight between the *Sydney* and the *Emden*, the battle in the Heligoland Bight, the Falkland Islands affair, the combat in which *Cradock* was sent to the bottom, and this latest encounter have all proved the immense importance of superior speed, which enables an admiral to fight on his own terms.

A LESSON TO AMERICA

The fate of the *Blücher*—a snail beside the battle cruisers of her own fleet and England's—should be a warning to Americans, for we have not a battle cruiser to our name, and even the *Blücher* was three knots faster than the fastest battle-ship in the United States navy. Vessels like the *Lion*, *Tiger*, *Moltke*, and *Seydlitz*, with a twenty-eight or twenty-nine knot speed rate, could run rings around the only ships in our navy which are equal to them in gun power. For instance, our latest leviathans, the battle-ships *Arizona* and *Pennsylvania*, although they carry twelve 14-inch guns to the eight 13½-inch rifles of the *Lion* and *Tiger*, are seven knots slower than

the British sea hounds, which could maneuver as they pleased with these twin bulldogs of our navy. In other words, were the American fleet ever to meet an enemy with battle cruisers in superior force, it could not run as the Germans did the other day, but would be forced to stay and fight. That would mean very probable destruction, for a *Salamis* or a *Trafalgar*, with victory to the side with the weaker fleet, is not likely to occur in these days of searchlights, wireless, and mathematical range-finders.

THE WAR ON LAND

The week's operations on land were so overshadowed by the great event on the sea that for several days news of the armies could be found only on the inside pages of American newspapers. The Germans claim to have captured two strong positions from the British at *La Bassée*, thirteen miles southwest of *Lille*, and apparently they have completely halted the French advance in *Alsace*. The French War Office admits the capture of some trenches by the Germans at *St. Mihiel*, the only point at which the Kaiser's banners are south of the *Meuse*.

In Poland the Russians are reported to be at *Lipno*, only twenty miles from the German border. Despatches from the Caucasus are conflicting, but apparently there has been something of a lull since the Turks were forced to fall back from Russian territory. The most interesting news from *Petrograd* is to the effect that the Russian General Staff expects the Germans to change their plan of campaign and leave what they have taken in central Poland to a thin line of defense while concentrating in an attempt to drive the Czar's forces out of *Bukowina*, northern Hungary, and eastern Galicia, where their presence threatens the continued unity of the various political elements in the Austro-German union.

THE GERMAN AIR RAID

Berlin still holds under the proverbial bushel all details in regard to the recent air raid on the coast towns of *Norfolk*, *England*, and, as there is little likelihood that the German screen of censorship will be lifted, the true story of the dramatic events of the most tremendous sky battle yet recorded will probably not be written until after the war, when to an eager world other yet unwritten chapters of history will be made public, such as the chapter that deals

with the sinking of the British battle-ship *Audacious*. Berlin has made official announcement, however, that the craft which terrorized the English countryside were "air-ships"—that is, dirigibles—and not aeroplanes, as was rumored for a time. Unofficial despatches from the German capital say that the sky fleet was composed of Zeppelins, and the press of both Great Britain and Germany is now almost unanimous that the night bombardment was the work of these dreadnoughts of the air.

While expressing the utmost indignation at what the public opinion of most neutral nations agrees with him was a piece of cruel and fruitless warfare, John Bull is inwardly congratulating himself, and he has every reason to do so. "This is the much-heralded Zeppelin attack which I have feared so long, is it?" he asked himself over his coffee the morning after the raid. "Why, this is no worse than a bad thunder-storm or a mild political fracas in Ireland."

Futile the attack certainly was from a military point of view. None of the towns bombarded was fortified, and the slight property loss inflicted in no way reduces Great Britain's military resources or powers of resistance. Nor would the killing of a boy, an aged woman, and a feeble old man be likely to help Germany in her struggle with England, even if that struggle were carried out to a bitter and conclusive finish.

THE SPIRIT OF ENGLAND

Germany seems to have counted upon the psychological value of the raid, however, more than upon any direct strategical advantage that she might get from it.

In that she was disappointed. Not only has the morale of the British people been unshaken by the terror that flies by night, but it seems to have gained a new firmness.

This spirit was exemplified by the rector of St. Peter's at Yarmouth, who said:

"It is our privilege who live on the east coast to be on the firing line, and we should brace ourselves to face the position with brave hearts."

A privilege indeed! A privilege to live in an undefended coast town which any day may be battered to dust by swift cruisers slipping in from the sea, and which any night may be blown from its foundations by leviathans wheeling in the impenetrable sky! This is the spirit of Nelson at the Nile, it is the

spirit of Duncan facing the whole Dutch fleet off the Texel with only two vessels of his own, it is the spirit of Sir Richard Grenville, to whom it was a "privilege" to hurl the cocky little *Revenge* alone against fifty galleons of Spain. But observe that the speaker this time is not an adventure-hardened English admiral, but a respectable English clergyman, who probably loves his Christmas plum pudding and wears rubber overshoes when it rains. This is a spirit that is yet to be reckoned with by Germany—a nation itself which breeds as few cowards as any.

THE PASSING OF THE FRONT

The words of the Yarmouth rector were not only brave but true. Yarmouth is on the firing line, and so is every hamlet in the British isles, with the enemy in the possession of air-ships which have a cruising radius of two thousand miles and a speed of sixty miles an hour. Not a villager in Great Britain can go to bed now with the assurance that he will not be blown into everlasting sleep by a bomb from the blue. This war marks the passing of "the front," the old-fashioned closely drawn area to which blood-letting was formerly almost entirely confined. Aeroplanes and dirigibles now make plain the meaning of war to every citizen of a nation in arms, and now it may well be less nerve-trying to lie in the trenches with a rifle in your hand and something to shoot at than to sit at home with one eye cocked at the sky and the other at the entrance to your private bomb-proof.

THE ETHICS OF BOMB-DROPPING

As I said before, the bulk of neutral public opinion seems to be with the British in their denunciation of the bombardment of unfortified villages in England as an act of wanton cruelty. It will not do to censure Germany for the specific attack on the little fishing village of Yarmouth, however. The question is broader than that. Turn about is fair play, and until we neutrals are sure of the falsity of German reports of the bombardment from the sky by the Allies of undefended German towns—in particular, the university town of Freiburg and the city of Nuremberg, the home of children's toys—it will not do for us to condemn either side exclusively.

The laws of nations in regard to aerial warfare are in the formative stage. At the last Hague Conference Germany, with most of

NOTHING is to be written on this side except the date and signature of the sender. Sentences not required may be erased. If anything else is added the post card will be destroyed.

I am quite well.

*I have been ~~admitted into hospital~~
~~sick~~ and am going on well.
~~wounded~~ and hope to be discharged soon.*

I am being sent down to the base.

*I have received your ^{letter dated}
~~letter~~ ^{telegram} ~~parcel~~*

Letter follows at first opportunity.

I have received no letter from you

{ lately.

{ for a long time.

**Signature
only.**

*all good
 wishes for 1915.
 H. Deedford*

Date Dec 34 1914

[Postage must be prepaid on any letter or post card addressed to the sender of this card.]

(35195) Wt. W3497-293 1,000m. 10/14 U.B., Ltd.

A WAR POSTAL CARD

This is the sort of postal card which England provides for Tommy Atkins to write home upon. This card came from a trench on the firing line

the European Powers, refused to agree to the prohibition of bomb-dropping from air-craft. But international usage has long opposed the attack or bombardment by any means of undefended towns, cities, or buildings.

Such bombardments are contrary to the whole spirit of modern warfare; they have very slight military value, and at the next international conference after this war they should be forbidden. But in the meantime they promise to go on apace. The news papers of both Germany and England speak of a much larger Zeppelin raid on London or some other large English city as the natural

sequel to the attack on Yarmouth, and several British papers are urging reprisals in kind against the Germans. Neither of these events would surprise any one who is aware of the constantly growing bitterness between Anglo-Saxon and Teuton.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE TRENCHES

Opposite is a cut of a postal card which has reached me from a soldier at the front. The card is of the type which is doled out to the soldiers on those parts of the firing line which are under the strictest censorship, and it will be noticed that the literary efforts of any man using this card are supposed to be restricted to writing his signature and scratching out such of the printed statements as do not apply to his case. Apparently, however, the weight of censorship is frequently lightened, for letters have been received in this country which were written by soldiers of both sides under the very dust of hostile shrapnel. Readers of "The Story of the War" may remember that in The Outlook of January 6 I printed such a letter from a young Frenchman in the trenches. Since then I have learned that the writer of that letter has been captured. The following letter to my friend's wife from

one of his companions she permits me to publish. It describes the capture of my friend by the Germans, and it is of general interest in that it gives a picture of the hazardous sort of business which even a delicate, unathletic, and almost fragile youth of wholly intellectual and spiritual interests—such as my friend is—will gladly undertake on a moment's notice for the sake of *la Patrie*.

"In the Trenches, December 29, 1914.

"Madame —:

"Understanding your anxiety, I place myself at your entire disposal to give you all

the information I have. I wrote to your father-in-law as soon as I was able to, telling him what I am going to repeat to you.

"In the night of the 16th or 17th of December we went forward for a bayonet attack on the enemy's trenches, opposite —, where we now are.

"Our company carried out the attack vigorously, your husband cool and courageous as ever; but in the darkness and confusing rapidity of the maneuver I found myself swept some distance away from him, an unusual occurrence, for we had always kept together.

"Part of the company—almost half of it—jumped into the first trench with a lieutenant, while the other part remained above it with the captain.

"There was a lack of co-operation on our part—the German trenches are very deep at this place, and it was hard for us above to tell just what was going on—but I heard the noise of a short hand-to-hand struggle.

"The part of the company which was fighting fared better than we, for under the fire of the mitrailleuses we were forced to lie down in the insufficient shelter of the earth banked along the trench, and many of our number were killed or wounded by this murderous fire.

"How long we remained in this position I am unable to estimate.

"Many officers were struck down in the supporting companies which flanked us, and this resulted in disorganization, which caused the failure of the whole undertaking. The position became untenable for us above the trench, and our captain ordered us to fall back.

"Your husband was one of those who, having gone into the trench with Lieutenant Percin, presently found themselves cut off.

"One of that number, however, managed to escape. I have questioned him carefully concerning the fate of my friend, and he has assured me that the last thing he saw was your husband, unwounded, acting as interpreter for his lieutenant in arranging terms with a German officer."

HALF A YEAR OF WAR

Six months have now elapsed since the Kaiser took the bit in his teeth and dragged the world into the greatest war in written history. It has been a war of surprises. At its incep-

tion few observers in America believed that it would outlast 1914. To-day no one can say that the end is in sight. Yet so frequently has the unexpected occurred during these six months of carnage that no one should be surprised if an unforeseen twist in events brought peace to-morrow.

However, the main chance of a termination brought about by an overwhelming triumph for one side or the other went glimmering when Germany failed to erase France in her first rush, and all indications now point to a peace secured only by the complete exhaustion of all parties to the struggle. This might carry the war beyond the three-year limit which Kitchener set for it some time ago. Long wars are not uncommon even in modern history. The Russo-Japanese War—although it was chiefly a series of defeats for the Russians—was drawn out for a year and a half, while the Boers, much weaker and hardly more determined than the Germans are to-day, stood off the British for three long, bloody years.

As it stands to-day the war is a draw, unless, as I have said before, we judge its progress by the standard of Bernhardt and his fellow German strategists, who said that in order to win Germany must crush France before Russia came up. The fact remains that the Allies have nothing to boast about. They have done next to nothing to loosen the Kaiser's grip on Belgium and northern France. On the wall near my desk is a map of the western war area stuck full of colored pins which indicate the position of the Germans and the Allies. I have not had the pleasure of moving the pins in any direction for months.

If left to themselves, Germany and England might surpass the record of Rome and Carthage, which fought for a hundred years and more. Neither of the former pair has ever developed the quitting habit. France, and what is left of Belgium, have little or nothing to lose and much or everything to gain by continuing the war. Turkey may have had enough already, and Austria would no doubt be glad of a peace which would leave European political geography as it was on July 1, 1914, but that cannot even be hoped for, and Austria's only chance of regaining Galicia and Bukowina and avoiding the loss of Transylvania and the Trentino seems to be to stick to her guns.

Russia, one hairy paw grasping Austrian provinces and the other stretching toward

long-coveted Constantinople, certainly has small reason to leave off her land-grabbing campaign now. All signs point to a finish

fight—the “war without mercy” which the French Premier mentioned the other day.

New York City, January 27, 1915.

II—RUSSIAN MILITARY EFFICIENCY

BY GEORGE KENNAN

AN American friend who has long taken a deep and sympathetic interest in Russia, and who has watched attentively the military operations of the Russians in Austria, Poland, and East Prussia, asked me a few days ago:

“Why are the Russians showing so much more efficiency in this war than they showed in the war with Japan? In Manchuria they did not win a single battle, while in eastern Europe they have decisively defeated the Austrians, and have at least held their own against so powerful a military machine as that of Germany. Surely the Japanese were less formidable antagonists than the Germans are. Why, then, are the Russian armies able to stand off the latter, although they were steadily defeated and driven back by the former? One might suppose that the Russians would be outclassed by the Germans in every way, and particularly in the scientific and technical knowledge upon which success in warfare has come so largely to depend.”

The most obvious reason for the increased military efficiency of Russia in the present war is a geographical one, and it consists in her ability to avail herself of her great preponderance in numerical strength. She has more men available for military service than have Germany and Austria combined, and the scene of conflict happens to be so near that she can utilize her whole fighting force. The Japanese war was fought at a distance of more than five thousand miles, and the number of men that Russia could put into the field of operations was limited by the transportation facilities of a single line of railway, which had at first a capacity of only five military trains a day. In all the early stages of the war, therefore, the Russians were outnumbered by the Japanese. If there had been five lines of railway to Manchuria instead of one, or even if the one had had a double track, the result of the war would probably have been different. Russia had men enough to overwhelm even the hard-fighting armies of the Japanese, but it was a physical im-

possibility to put them where they were needed.

This explanation, however, does not fully answer my friend's question, because the Russian armies in Austria and Poland are not only stronger than Kuropatkin's armies, but are unquestionably fighting better. For this increased fighting efficiency there are several reasons, but the most important of them, perhaps, is the changed temper of the nation.

In times past, when wars were carried on by small standing armies, the attitude of the people toward a war was relatively unimportant. Now, as General Kuropatkin has said, “the obligation to render military service is general, and if a war is to be successful it must be carried on not by an army but by an armed nation.” In these changed conditions, when the combatants are “armed nations,” the temper of the people is of supreme importance.

Russia's struggle for supremacy in eastern Asia was the most unpopular—not to say hateful—war in which the Empire had ever been engaged. Nobody wanted it and few knew what it was about. As a clear-seeing and plain-speaking Russian said while it was in progress:

“Japan had long been preparing for a war with us; her people desired it, and a feeling of lofty patriotism pervaded the whole country. In her army and her fleet, therefore, every man, from the Commander-in-Chief to the last soldier, not only knew what he was fighting for and what he might have to die for, but understood clearly that upon success in the struggle depended the fate of Japan, her political importance, and her future in the history of the world. Every Japanese soldier knew also that the whole nation stood behind him. Japanese mothers and wives sent their sons and husbands to the war with enthusiasm, and were proud when they died for their country.

“With us, on the other hand, the war was unpopular from the very beginning. We neither desired it nor anticipated it, and

consequently we were not prepared for it. Soldiers were hastily put into railway trains, and when, after a journey that lasted a month, they alighted in Manchuria, they did not know in what country they were, nor whom they were to fight, nor what the war was about. Even our higher commanders went to the front unwillingly and from a mere sense of duty. The whole army, moreover, felt that it was regarded by the country with indifference; that its life was not shared by the people; and that it was a mere fragment cut off from the nation, thrown to a distance of 6,000 miles, and there abandoned to the caprice of fate."¹

General Kuropatkin confirms these statements and says:

"Among the main reasons for our disasters must be mentioned the indifferent and even hostile attitude of the people. . . . The general feeling of discontent which already pervaded all classes of our population made the war so hateful that it aroused no patriotism whatever."²

This hatred of the people for the war was increased by the activity of the revolutionary parties, which circulated immense quantities of seditious literature and distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets and proclamations even among the soldiers who were going to the front.³

The popular discontent and the anti-war propaganda of the revolutionists were most demoralizing to the troops in the field. Officers malingered, and soldiers availed themselves of every opportunity to skulk or desert their companies during action. "There were many instances," Kuropatkin says, "where unwounded men went to the rear, under pretext of carrying away the wounded, at the rate of six, eight, or ten sound soldiers to one wounded. The result was that a company hotly engaged usually had only 100 or less rifles" (out of 250) "after a few hours' fighting, although its losses might have been inconsiderable. . . . Our lack of moral strength, as compared with the Japanese, affected all

ranks, from the highest to the lowest, and greatly reduced our fighting power. In a war waged under different circumstances—a war in which the army had the confidence and encouragement of the country—the same officers and the same troops would have accomplished far more than they accomplished in Manchuria. The lack of martial spirit, moral exaltation, and of heroic impulse affected particularly our stubbornness in battle. In many cases we did not have sufficient resolution to conquer such antagonists as the Japanese. . . . There was no military spirit in the army."¹

Compare all this with the state of affairs at the present time. Russia is now aroused, united, and inspired with the same patriotism that the Japanese displayed in 1904–5. Everybody knows what this war means, everybody supports it, and the whole nation is ready and eager to fight. I tried to make this clear in my recent article on "The Spiritual Uplift in Russia," and the statements there made have since been confirmed even by Russia's enemies. German papers recently published a letter from Eberhard Krause, a German, who remained in Russia until the first of November, and who witnessed both the uplift and the mobilization. Describing the attitude of the people, he says:

"The war is extremely popular, and soldiers as well as officers go to the front with an unshakable determination to conquer or die."

Professor Hjalmar Shegren, a Swede, who also witnessed the mobilization, writes to a Stockholm paper:

"The state of affairs now is very different from what it was at the time of the Russo-Japanese War. All classes of the Russian people are now united; all popular disorder has ceased; and all social and national discord has been forgotten."

Understanding the reasons for the war, and feeling the sympathy and support of the whole nation, Russian troops are fighting now as they have never fought before. Common soldiers by the hundred, women, and even runaway boys, are being decorated with the Cross of St. George for conspicuous gallantry on the field of battle. At the recent anniversary jubilee of the Cavaliers of St.

¹ "The Feeling of Duty and the Love of Country," by M. A. Bildering, *Russki Invalid*, St. Petersburg, 1906.

² "The Russian Army and the Japanese War," by General A. N. Kuropatkin, Vol. II, pp. 73 and 208.

³ The following is a specimen of this anti-war literature:

"To the Officers of the Russian Army: The worst and most dangerous enemy of the Russian people—in fact, its only enemy—is the present Government. It is this Government that is carrying on the war with Japan, and you are fighting under its banners in an unjust cause. Every victory that you win threatens Russia with the calamity involved in the maintenance of what the Government calls 'order'; and every defeat that you suffer brings nearer the hour of deliverance. Is it surprising, therefore, that Russians rejoice when your adversary is victorious?"

¹ Kuropatkin, "The Russian Army," etc., Vol. II, pp. 50, 72, 80. It would be unfair to assume that Kuropatkin discredits his troops in order to excuse his defeats. In other parts of his history he does them full justice and admits with the utmost frankness his own errors and misjudgments.

George, in Petrograd, there were present three thousand persons who had won the cross of the order, including 431 wounded soldiers, one woman (a hospital nurse), and three young boys, all just back from the front. One of the boys, who was only thirteen years of age, and whose name indicates that he was a Polish Jew, had taken part in ten battles or important engagements, had been instrumental in the capture of an Austrian patrol of sixty men, and had finally been decorated with the Cross of St. George for a daring and perilous reconnaissance which led to the capture of a whole Austrian battery of heavy artillery. All three boys had run away from home, and had reached the front by collusion with soldiers and by hiding under the seats of military trains. When 431 common soldiers are decorated with the Cross of St. George in a single brief campaign, it indicates that Russian troops are fighting with a courage and determination which they did not always show in Manchuria.

Another reason for Russia's increased military efficiency is to be found in the improvement of the army as a fighting machine. When General Kuropatkin entered the Russian War Office, in 1898, he found military affairs in an extremely unsatisfactory state. "The General Staff," he says, "was particularly weak. The promotion of officers depended upon favoritism; soldiers were cruelly treated and badly fed; waste, thefts, and embezzlements were common. The command of regiments was intrusted to aristocrats who had squandered their personal fortunes and were seeking means of re-establishing their affairs by military service. As a result, the Russian army showed no improvement from a moral point of view, and from a material point of view it was inferior to other European armies."

General Kuropatkin, during his incumbency as Minister of War, made some improvements; but his history of the struggle in Manchuria shows that many of the old evils still remained. Four, at least, of his generals (Zasulich, Gripenberg, Kaulbars, and Stoessel) were disobedient as well as incompetent; many officers of lower rank were unfit for their positions; attempts to get rid of such men were thwarted in St. Petersburg, and many recommendations for the promotion of capable and talented leaders were ignored or overruled. The army, moreover, was not adequately equipped, and for this Kuropatkin himself seems to have

been largely to blame. It had, he says, very few machine guns, no mountain artillery, no high explosive shells, and no howitzers. Its telegraph and telephone service was very inadequate, and its leaders were "unable to conduct operations intelligently for lack of information." Its cavalry was very inefficient, and "whole regiments were moved to the rear as soon as the first shrapnel began to burst near them, although they had not lost a man." The four regiments of cavalry on whom fell the difficult but honorable duty of obtaining information and opposing Nogi's enveloping forces at the battle of Mukden lost, in killed and wounded, only twenty-two men, which works out at less than one man per squadron.¹

Finally, owing to a "vicious system of command," the supreme control of Russia's Manchurian armies was vested in at least three different persons, viz.: Kuropatkin himself, the Czar in St. Petersburg, and Admiral Alexeief (a naval officer!) at Harbin. The nominal Commander-in-Chief had independent authority during only four months and a half out of nineteen. More than once—notably in the case of the disaster at Telisu—he was forced by Viceroy Alexeief (the naval officer) to undertake operations of which his (Kuropatkin's) judgment disapproved. It is not surprising that, in such circumstances and with such inherent defects, the Russian army did not work efficiently as a fighting machine.

The overwhelming and disgraceful defeat in Manchuria was profoundly humiliating, of course, to the Czar and the higher military authorities, and as soon as the war ended they made a most strenuous effort to strengthen the army and increase its fighting efficiency. Before they had had time, however, to accomplish much, they were again humiliated by their inability to interfere when Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. They would have tried to prevent that if they had dared, but they did not feel strong enough at that time to run the risk of war. Their disappointment and chagrin, however, spurred them on to renewed efforts, in which they had the co-operation and support of the army itself. For hundreds, if not thousands, of Russian officers the struggle in Manchuria was a great training school, which showed them their weaknesses and forced them to study seriously their profession. That they

¹ Kuropatkin, "The Russian Army," etc., Vol. II, pp. 151-2.

profited by their lesson of defeat there can be no doubt. General Ruzski, who has recently won such distinction as leader of the armies operating against Austria, was one of Kuropatkin's officers in Manchuria, and General Samsonof, killed in battle in East Prussia September 1, was another. They, with hundreds of captains, colonels, and brigadiers, learned the modern art of war in eastern Asia, and those now alive and on duty are utilizing their knowledge and experience in an even more important field. With the co-operation of such men, and under the direction of a really capable Minister of War (General Sukhomlinof), the Russian army has become, probably, twice as efficient as it was six years ago.

All accounts agree that the general mobilization which followed Germany's declaration of war was accomplished with unprecedented smoothness and rapidity, and that when the Russian troops took the field they were apparently better equipped and better trained than they had ever been before. Eberhard Krause, the German whom I have already quoted, says with reference to this:

"The mobilization which occurred while I was in Russia was very rapid, and the troops made upon me a favorable impression. The Siberian rifle regiments, in particular, were moved to the west with extraordinary promptness, and presented a most brilliant appearance.¹ The railroads, too, were fully equal to the task imposed upon them."

Professor Shegren, the Swedish observer, says:

"It is impossible to compare Russia's military strength now with that shown at the beginning of the war with Japan. General Sukhomlinof, the Minister of War, is a man of great energy as well as a first-class organizer, and he has taken unusual pains to see that the money appropriated for military purposes has been properly spent. Finally, the Russian army has at the present time, in the Grand Duke Nikolas Nikolaievitch, a leader of extraordinary talent."

In the latter part of the question with which I began this article a doubt is expressed as to the strength of Russia "in the scientific and technical knowledge upon which success in warfare has come so largely to

depend." It must be admitted, of course, that the Russians do not compare favorably in this respect with the Germans, the British, or the French; but they are not, after all, such unskilled barbarians as the world has been led to believe. Russia is not wholly destitute of scientists and technologists. As long ago as 1890 she was able to assemble 2,200 of them in a national convention in St. Petersburg, and at the present time she has fifty-three scientific societies, with a membership of nearly ten thousand, in nineteen different cities and towns. One hundred and thirty-eight Russian scientists have a European reputation, or at least have importance enough to justify the editors of the English "Who's Who in Science" in furnishing brief biographies of them with reference to their work.¹ These men represent seventeen different branches of scientific research, and two of them—Metchnikof and Mendeleief—are known, at least by name, to all the world.

Even in military technology the Russians are not hopelessly outclassed. Competent judges express the opinion that in military aviation Russia stands second only to France, and the distinctively Russian biplane, designed by Sikorsky, has a record for carrying seventeen passengers for an hour and a half, and six passengers for five hours, at a speed of fifty miles an hour.

The Russian peasants, of course, are neither scientists nor technologists; but even they think that they can do a few things—and especially work metals—as skillfully as anybody. A century or two ago, according to a folk-tale current in Russia, the Gossudar (the Czar) called together a dozen or more peasants who had a reputation for skill in the working of metals, and exhibited to them a steel flea, of natural size, which had been "made in Germany" and had been sent to him, partly as a gift and partly to show the delicacy of the German smiths' work. The Gossudar handed it to the peasants on a plate and said:

"Look at that! You think that you can work metals; but I don't believe there's one of you who can duplicate that steel flea."

The peasants said, "Perhaps not, Batushka (Little Father); but if you will let us take the flea home, we will see what we can do."

The Czar consented, and they retired. A day or two later they reappeared, and with

¹ There were nine divisions, or 108 battalions, of these troops in East Siberia alone, and they were regarded by General Kuropatkin as the élite of his army. It is doubtful whether in fighting efficiency they are surpassed even by the crack regiments of the Grenadiers and the Guards.

¹ "Who's Who in Science," London, 1914.

low waist-bows presented to their monarch on a plate the same German flea, but without the expected duplicate.

"Ah!" said the Czar. "You couldn't make another. I knew you couldn't!"

"Will your Majesty deign to look at the

flea through a magnifying-glass?" replied the peasants.

A glass was brought, and upon close inspection it was found that the Russian metal workers had shod the German flea with steel shoes.

SAN DOMINGO AND SECRETARY BRYAN

A POLL OF THE PRESS

THE American Government administers the customs of the Dominican Republic. The customs receipts are divided between that Republic's creditors and the Dominican Government. This service involves the employment under the American collector of a large number of persons, it is said, not of course all Americans, but under American supervision. The salaries are paid out of the Dominican funds.

Under the treaty with San Domingo we sent a man there eight years ago to receive the customs duties and apportion them between the island Government and certain creditors. He was "a reliable, high-type man," according to the Rochester "Post-Express" (Rep.), "and was instructed by Mr. Root, then Secretary of State, to regard his position as a sacred trust to be administered faithfully and economically for the benefit of all concerned." The Rochester paper continues:

During the six years he was there two Republican Administrations made no suggestion or demand that he find offices or salaried berths for anybody; his whole duty as he understood it and as Washington informed him being to look carefully after the finances of the island and help the Government to pay its debts and prosper.

The Wilson Administration had no use for this excellent official, and supplanted him promptly with a man named Vick, who had been the chief assistant of Chairman McAdoo of the Democratic National Committee in conducting the 1912 campaign. Secretary Bryan at once began to draw upon Vick for jobs for "deserving Democrats," saddled him with needless officials, and asked things of him with which he felt that he could not honorably and properly comply. Rather than permit himself to be used to exploit the Republic he went to protect, Mr. Vick resigned his position and came home.

In 1913 Mr. Vick had received a letter from Mr. Bryan which contradicted the Secretary's previous preachments to such an

extent that the New Orleans "Item" (Ind.) has printed the following "deadly parallel:"

It may take some time to convince all of the people of Latin America of this Nation's disinterested friendship. They have sometimes been made the victims of commercial greed; they have sometimes suffered from exploitation by concessionaires without conscience and are therefore naturally suspicious, but these suspicions can be overcome.

Confidence will be established in proportion as the Latin-American republics are convinced, as they will be, that this country does not desire to secure any land by conquest, and does not ask for itself any privilege or favors that it is not willing to have extended others.—WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN in a signed article in the "Tammany Times".

My Dear Mr. Vick: Now that you have arrived and are acquainting yourself with the situation, can you let me know what positions you have at your disposal with which to reward deserving Democrats? Whenever you desire a suggestion from me in regard to a man for any place there, call on me.

You have had enough experience in politics to know how valuable workers are when the campaign is on, and how difficult it is to find suitable rewards for all the deserving. I do not know to what extent a knowledge of the Spanish language is necessary for employees. Let me know what is required, together with the salary, and when appointments are likely to be made.

Sullivan will be down before long, and you and he together ought to be able to bring about such reforms as may be necessary there. You will find Sullivan a strong, courageous, reliable fellow. The more I have seen of him the better satisfied I am that he will fit into the place there and do what is necessary to be done.

Very truly yours,
W. J. BRYAN.

The letter also inspires the New York "Sun" (Ind.) to the following parallel between it and the current number of Mr. Bryan's own "Commoner," now a monthly

paper, and published at Lincoln, Nebraska, and the "Sun" calls it "The Litany of Brotherly Love and Disinterested Service:"

"The possession of power breeds arrogance in little minds."—W. J. BRYAN.

"Can you let me know what positions you have at your disposal with which to reward deserving Democrats?"—W. J. BRYAN.

"Man is put on earth not to absorb from his fellow-men but to spend himself in their behalf."—W. J. BRYAN.

"You know how valuable workers are when the campaign is on."—W. J. BRYAN.

"Man finds that his happiness, as well as his greatness, is measured by what he puts into the world rather than what he takes out of it."—W. J. BRYAN.

"And how difficult it is to find suitable rewards for all the deserving."—W. J. BRYAN.

"Christ furnished us the highest example of giving, but even the humblest of us may take inspiration from his life and make our own lives fruitful and full of satisfaction by rendering helpful service."—W. J. BRYAN.

"Let me know what is requisite, together with the salary and when appointments are likely to be made."—W. J. BRYAN.

"Unless Christianity is a failure and its founder a fraud, mankind must look to the teachings of the Nazarene as the hope of a struggling humanity."—W. J. BRYAN.

"Can you let me know what positions you have at your disposal with which to reward deserving Democrats?"—W. J. BRYAN.

"Peace will be assured in proportion as men learn to regard each other as brothers and to treat each other as neighbors."—W. J. BRYAN.

"You know how valuable workers are when the campaign is on."—W. J. BRYAN.

"The doctrine of love is, after all, the only growing doctrine in the world; it is the only force to which there can be no permanent opposition; it is the only weapon for which there is no shield."—W. J. BRYAN.

"And how difficult it is to find suitable rewards for all the deserving."—W. J. BRYAN.

"Life is not to be estimated by what you get out of it; it is to be estimated by what you put into it."—W. J. BRYAN.

"Let me know what is requisite, together with the salary, and when appointments are likely to be made."—W. J. BRYAN.

The letter came to light in a public investigation to determine whether James Mark Sullivan, a Bryan appointee, was fit to remain as American Minister to San Domingo.

Few papers defend Mr. Bryan, though some, like the Baltimore "Sun" (Dem.), point out that "it doesn't take much National sense of humor to realize the joke of the Republican party being horrified at Mr. Bryan trying to get some of the offices for good Democrats."

In the North Mr. Bryan's chief apologist would appear to be the Brooklyn "Citizen" (Dem.). It says:

One would imagine that Mr. Bryan, in writing this letter, had committed some heinous crime. . . . His critics forget that Mr. Bryan is not only the Secretary of State but a great party leader, and it was as a party leader that he wrote the letter of which they complain. There are fourteen places in the gift of the Receiver of Customs which are usually filled by Americans. Did these Bryanophobes expect the Secretary of State to put in a plea for deserving Republicans? The letter requires no defense to any rational mind, and what Mr. Bryan's personal and journalistic enemies think of it need not and does not bother him in the least. . . .

The only regret which this letter will awaken in the minds of Democrats is that there are not more men in authority governed by the motives which obviously controlled the Secretary of State.

Western support of Mr. Bryan—or rather the lack of it—is significant by the apparent complete silence of Democratic papers in that region.

Southern support is reflected by such a paper as the Nashville "Tennessean" (Dem.) upon the ground that the Republicans have no divine right to the patronage.

This is answered by many papers of the North, South, and West, as, for example, by the New York "Evening Post" (Ind.):

Does the "Tennessean" see no difference between ordinary spoils-mongering and the jobbery of places held in trust by us for another Government? Even a politician might shrink from anything so "raw" as that. Republican misuse of office has been flagrant, but what one would like to see the "Tennessean" say is not only that the Republicans are not "the only rightful dispensers of patronage," but also that no party has any business to "dispense" patronage at all in the sense of the Bryan letter. . . .

We know of no defense of Mr. Bryan in this matter which will not heighten his offense. It may be said that he was not aware that he was doing anything to be ashamed of. He never did take any interest in civil service reform. The whole-hog principle always seemed about right to him. It was good Nebraska fashion to peddle out all available offices to one's friends. Nobody had so many needy friends as Mr. Bryan

when he went to Washington. They were fairly encamped about him. Their pleading eyes looked up to him to be fed. How could he resist the appeals of his old campaigners who sat three in a chair in front of his door? And, if jobs were to be had in Santo Domingo, why not go straight after them?

Other New York City journals comment in the same spirit. For instance, the New York "Times" (Ind. Dem.):

The evidence is accumulating that the Secretary of State, holding an office he is utterly incompetent to fill, an office of which the high duties are performed by others while he devotes himself to politics and spoils-mongering, has lost his self-respect.

Mr. Bryan's defense of the Vick letter is thus reported:

I am glad to have the public know that I appreciate the services of those who work in politics and feel an interest in seeing them rewarded, and, as Mr. Vick received his appointment for political work, I thought he was a good man to address and express my opinion on the subject.

The Secretary's "pachydermous and benighted attitude . . . outrages that powerful sentiment in the country which sustains the merit as against the political principle in filling administrative offices," concludes the Springfield (Mass.) "Republican" (Ind.).

Says the "Baltimore News" (Ind. Prog.):

There may have been more scandalous doings in the State Department than those which the publication of the "deserving Democrats" letter discloses. But we doubt whether in the entire century and a quarter of the Department's existence its influence and opportunity have ever been put to more sordid, picayune, contemptible use than that which Secretary Bryan holds appropriate to the dignity of himself, the Administration, and the Nation.

"If a foreign minister of any other country than our own were found to have written a letter to a representative in another country, urging him to be on the lookout for places for their partisans," remarks the Buffalo "News" (Rep.), "that minister would cease to hold office the day after discovery was made of his discreditable act, and his career would be at an end. In the case of Mr. Bryan, however, he not only offers no explanation and expresses no regret for his attitude, but he boasts of it, declares that he has always been in favor of getting places for his fellow-partisans and landing them wherever there was something to do with a salary attached."

Southern opposition to Mr. Bryan is

reflected by the Jacksonville, Florida, "Times-Union" (Dem.) as follows:

Mr. Bryan's letter is the letter of a spoilsman. His comment on it is the comment of the spoilsman caught with the goods on him. The disclosures would not have been so startling if Mr. Bryan had not made such pretension to righteousness.

To this the Charleston "News and Courier" (Dem.) adds: "There can be no question that the letter to Vick will be used for all it is worth, and that it will alienate thousands who have been looking to the Democracy as the party of progress."

Western opposition to Mr. Bryan's position is shown, first of all, by a newspaper published in his home town, the Lincoln "Journal" (Rep.), which thus deals gently with the matter:

Mr. Bryan lately pronounced Andrew Jackson his ideal Democrat. Nowhere does Mr. Bryan follow Jackson more heartily than in his attitude toward the public service as spoils for the political victor. To a growing number of Americans this idea is out of date and unprogressive. These know that if Mr. Bryan were President he would be at all points in the hot water of which San Domingo now furnishes the sample, by reason of his inability to distinguish between a "valuable worker" and a fit public official.

A paper in the Twin City, the Minneapolis "Journal" (Ind. Rep.), calls attention to a feature frequently overlooked:

It must be understood that the American Receiver of Customs at Santo Domingo was a man under the jurisdiction, not of the State Department, but of the War Department. Accordingly, when Mr. Bryan sought to obtain information whereby he might exploit jobs to be paid for by the Dominican Republic, he did so with utter contempt of civil service rules, which are supposed to govern appointments even in the State Department.

Opposition to Mr. Bryan's position in that part of the West where he has been supposed to be specially strong is reflected by the Sioux Falls, South Dakota, "Press" (Ind.):

Some revision of the prevailing opinion of Mr. Bryan is clearly in order. We have always considered him an amiable, well-intending dreamer, inclined much to blunder, but on the whole harmless. The Vick letter shows that he is a real danger, as professional politicians that hold politics above everything else usually are. Mr. Bryan has done the Wilson Administration more harm than the good he has accomplished can ever compensate for. He has ruined the dignity of the office next in greatness to that of the Nation's Executive. He has lost for

that office the respect of his own people and made it a joke in foreign diplomatic circles. He has abused the influence of his position to play cheap politics. What is there left in the office of the Secretary of State but its honesty?

We do not believe that the last remaining virtue will go with the rest. Certainly it is to be hoped that it will not. May the charge that Secretary of State Bryan was in the deal to divide the profits of the operations in the Dominican Republic prove without foundation!

Farther West we find this summary in the Missoula, Montana, "Missoulian" (Prog.):

Under the Roosevelt Administration the diplomatic and consular appointments had been placed on practically a civil service basis. . . . Under Mr. Taft's Administration the same rule prevailed. . . . Our foreign service was no longer made the dumping-ground for all the broken-down politicians out of jobs.

With the advent of the Wilson Administration and the present Secretary of State the rule was reversed. The pressure for place was too strong to be resisted. With civil service rules in force in almost every other branch of the public service, the hungry and thirsty patriots . . . soon located the State Department as the one promising prospect. Mr. Bryan during his three campaigns for the Presidency had accumulated many pressing debts accounts. Within four months every ambassador and minister in the foreign service had been replaced by inexperienced men, with two lone exceptions. . . .

What has happened in San Domingo is only a little worse than that which has happened in many other countries.

Apart from Mr. Bryan's general attitude as a spoilsman, critics call attention to two particular features of the San Domingo case.

First, the trusteeship feature. We were acting for the Dominican Republic in the position of a trustee in handling its customs, and therefore, asserts the Minneapolis "Journal," "the effort to place needy Bryan supporters on the pay-roll of the bankrupt Republic was in open violation of the trust assumed by this Government." The New York "Evening Post" (Ind.) also fulminates as follows:

What makes the affair peculiarly contemptible is the fact that Mr. Bryan was trying to get jobs for his friends in a service which the United States had undertaken as a solemn trust. . . . Until the advent of Mr. Bryan in the State Department there was no hint that politics had been allowed to sway the Dominican service discharged by us. Certainly there were no such scandals as have ever since been crawling to the surface. But why talk of scandals

among subordinates when the chief scandal of all has been brought directly home to the Secretary of State?

Second, there is the reflection on our whole foreign service. The offense to public sentiment, says the Providence "Journal" (Ind.), is aggravated by the fact that the consequences are not alone of domestic concern, but involve our foreign relations." In its own breezy fashion the Leavenworth (Kansas) "Times" thus comments on this feature:

In his Chautauqua lectures Mr. Bryan poses as a Truly Good reformer who doesn't believe in the spoils system at all, and many of the hungry ones have looked upon him with suspicion.

But this letter shows that his heart is with the boys, even to the extent of introducing partisan ship into the delicate workings of this foreign service. The revelation will be worth a good deal to William J.

As a practical and proper result, suggests the Albany "Knickerbocker Press" (Ind.), if President Wilson wishes to do a single act which, more than any other single act, will raise the standard of public service up to the ideal he is always preaching about, he will ask for the resignation of his Secretary of State. Mr. Bryan "reflects discredit upon the Administration and upon the people of this Nation while he is holding the position of Secretary of State. He is a burlesque upon statesmanship."

Yet why should the President ask for Mr. Bryan's resignation, queries the Boston "Journal" (Prog.), "merely because Mr. Bryan's characteristic methods as a place-hunter have now become a part of the official records of the Government? The Great Commoner is no commoner to-day than he has been for months."

The San Domingo incident concerns not only Secretary Bryan but his chief also. On this the Milwaukee "Sentinel" (Rep.) remarks:

Everybody knows that Mr. Bryan was made Secretary of State primarily as a reward for political service at the Baltimore Convention and in the campaign, and, secondarily, to disarm a probable critic and obstructor of the Administration by making him a member of it.

And it worked like a charm. . . . But should the President profess to be piously shocked at Mr. Bryan's theory and practice of "rewards for deserving Democrats," Mr. Bryan will not be at a loss for a reply of a crushing *tu quoque* nature.

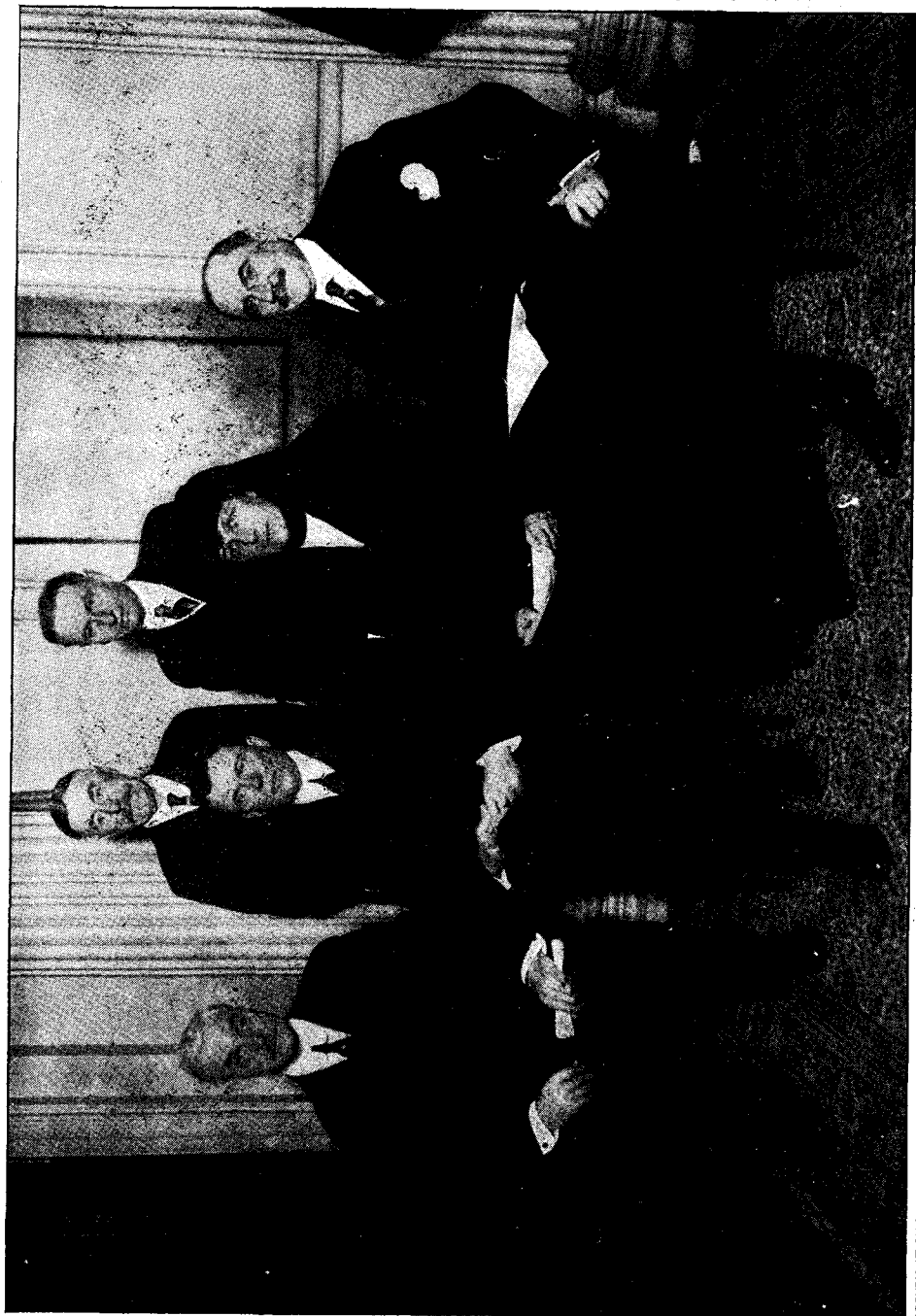
Current Events Pictorially Treated



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A GATHERING OF THE STRIKERS AT ROOSEVELT, NEW JERSEY, AND THEIR FAMILIES

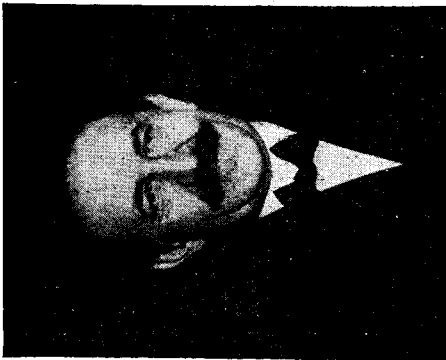
The white-haired woman standing above the rest is "Mother Jones," who is a stormy petrel in almost every industrial tempest. She is here seen addressing the strikers. See comment on editorial pages



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THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

The sessions of the Commission held in New York City when the preliminary hearings in the inquiry into the various philanthropic Foundations began, have attracted great public interest. The personnel of the Commission, as shown in the photograph, is as follows: Seated, left to right—James O'Connell, of Washington, D. C.; Francis P. Walsh, of Missouri; Mrs. J. Borden Hariman, of New York; Harris Weinstock, of California. Standing, left to right—John B. Lennon, of Illinois; S. Thurston Ballard, of Kentucky. See editorial pages for comment.



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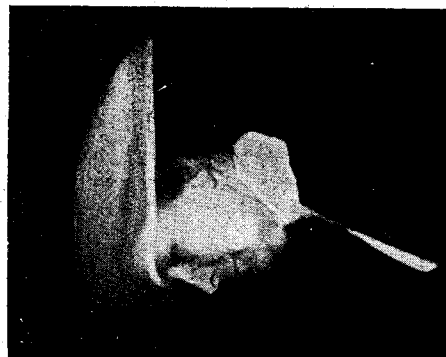
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SOME PROMINENT WITNESSES EXAMINED BY THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION



FROM A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH, COPYRIGHT BY BROWN & DAWSON

KAISER WILHELM II OF GERMANY

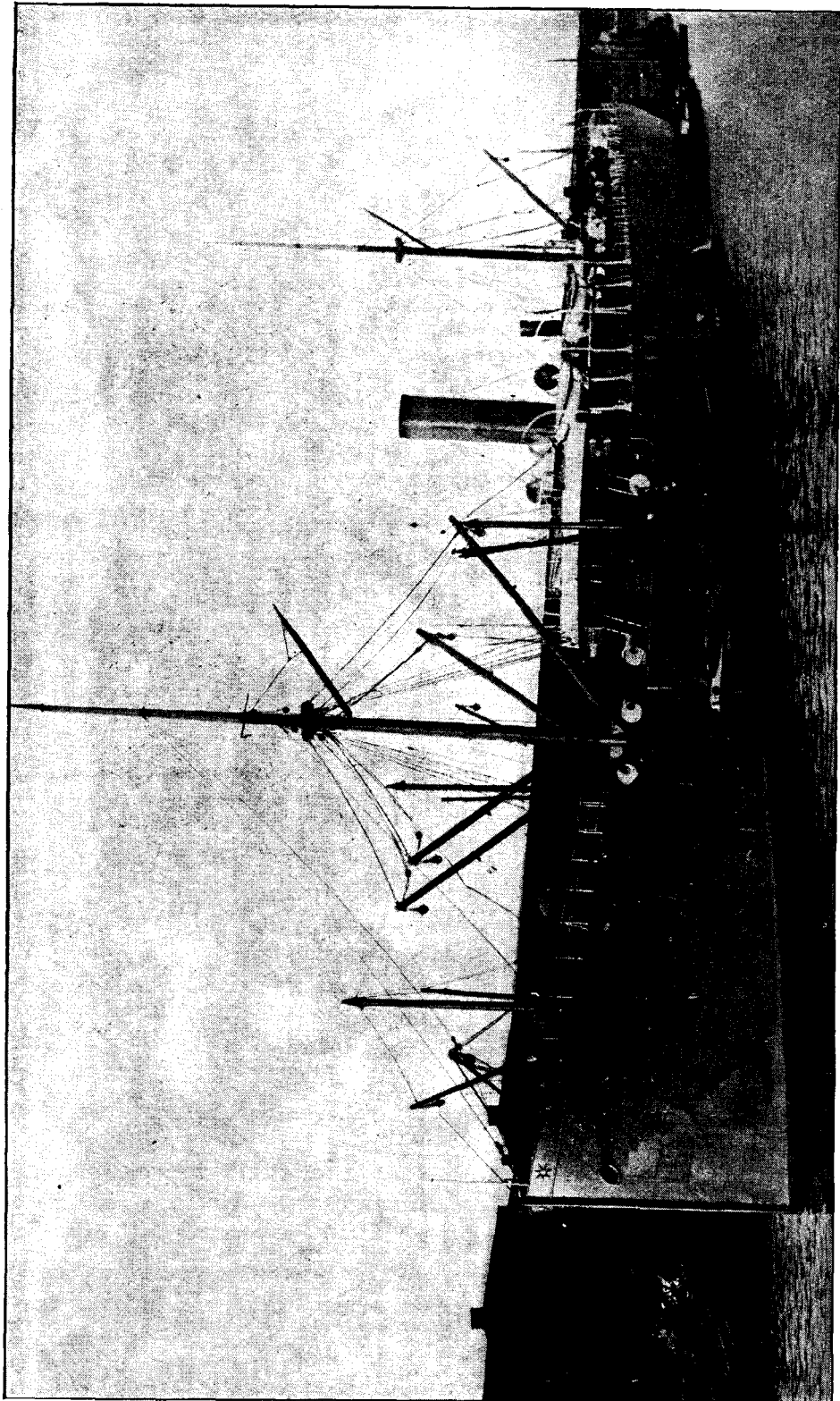
Although the Vatican is neutral, and though one of Germany's two allies, Austria, is the most faithful of Roman Kaiser over the treatment accorded to Roman Catholic priests (and particularly



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POPE BENEDICT V

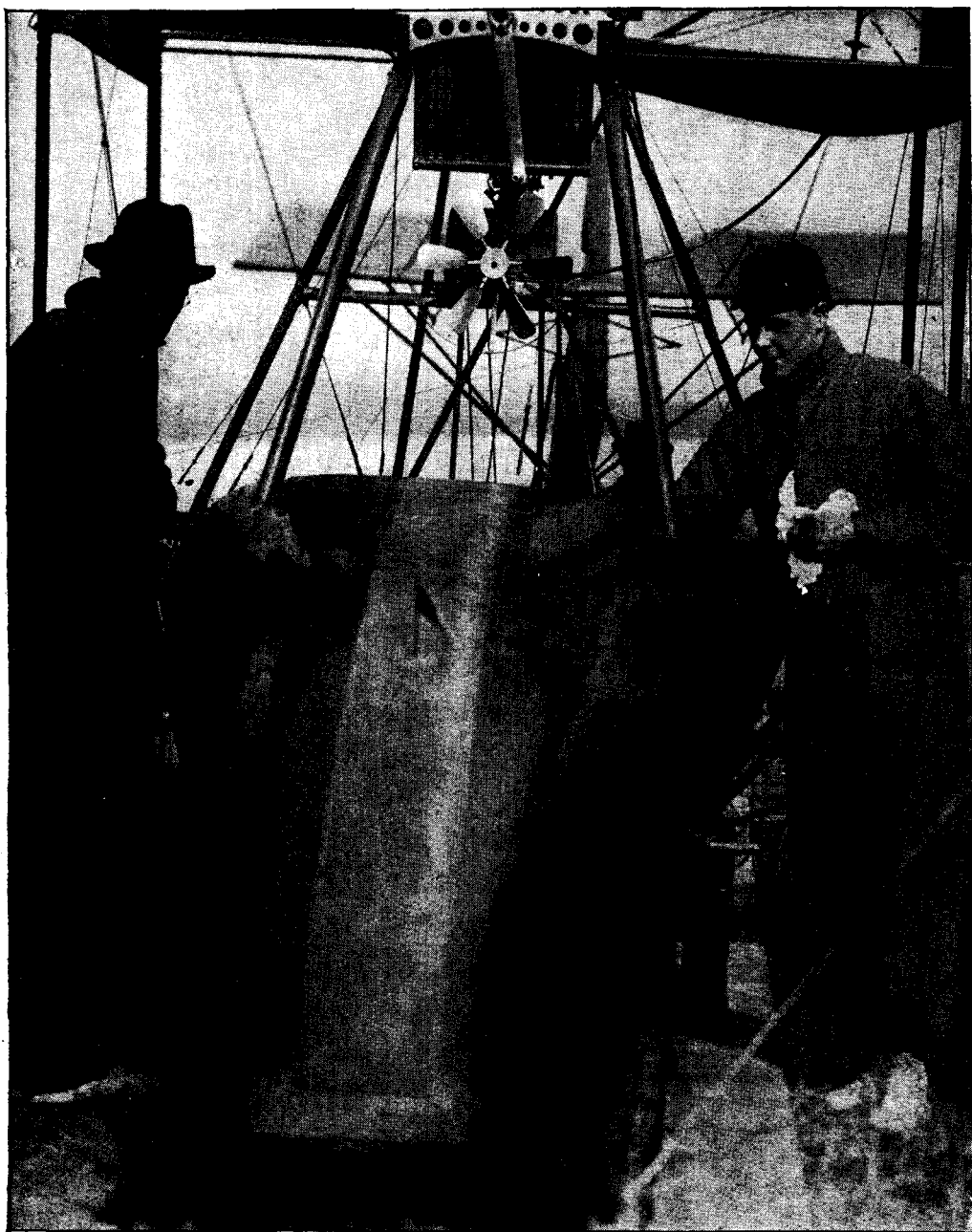
Catholic nations, there has been an exchange of correspondence between representatives of the Pope and the Cardinal Mercier) by German soldiers and military authorities. See editorial comment



PHOTOGRAPH BY AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

THE STEAMSHIP DACIA, WHOSE FATE HAS BECOME AN INTERNATIONAL INCIDENT

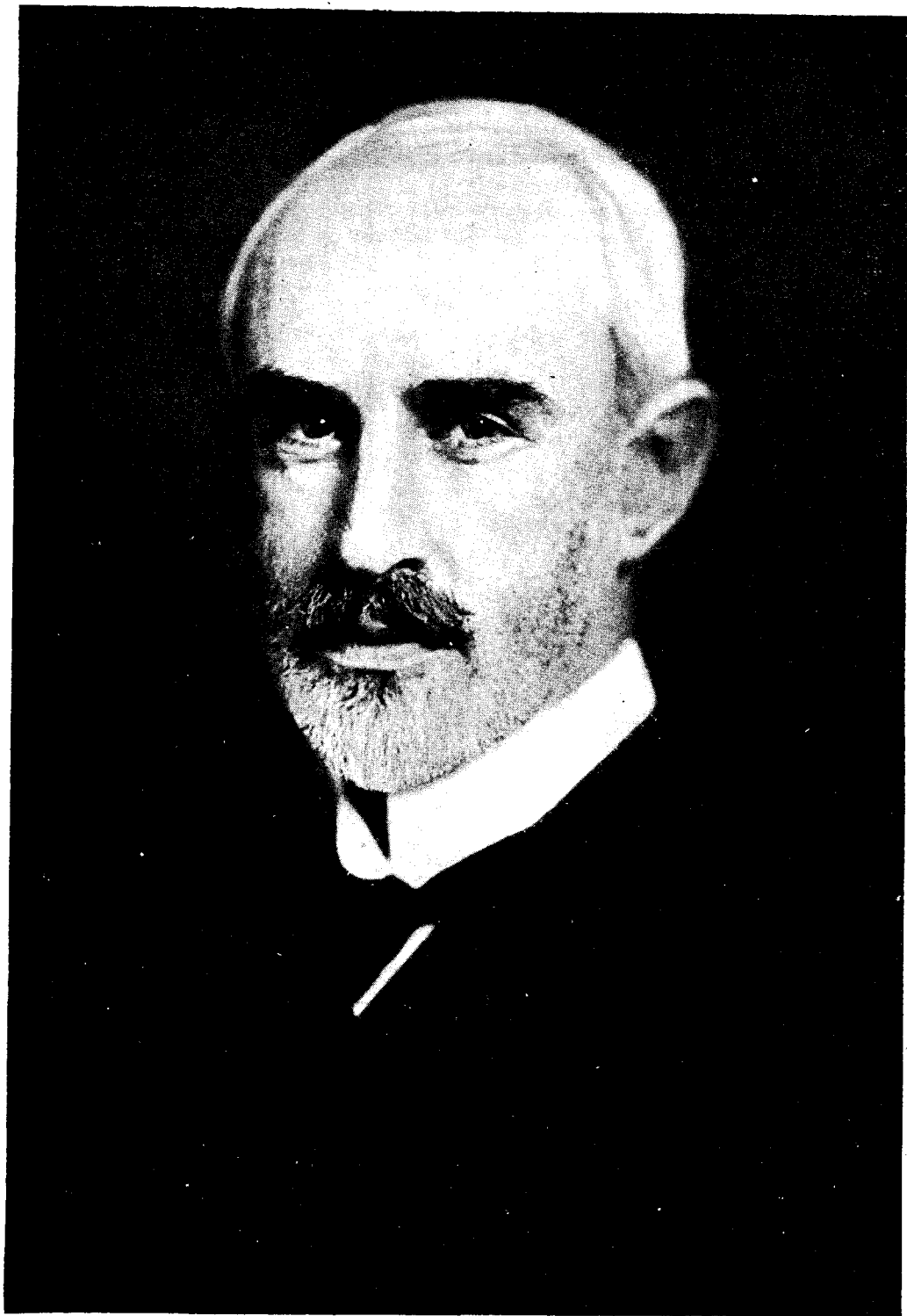
At the beginning of the war this vessel belonged to the Hamburg-American Line; she was then sold and placed under American registry. Great Britain has refused to recognize the validity of this transfer, and upon the sailing of the Dacia from Galveston for Germany with an American cargo she will, it is expected, be seized by British cruisers and taken before a prize court. The situation is full of unpleasant possibilities. See editorial comment



PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

A NEW HYDROAEROPLANE STABILIZER

The gyroscopes which are the essential feature of this stabilizer are contained within the hood-like inclosure shown in the foreground; above is the anemometer, an ingenious device which saves the aeroplane from sliding downward tail-first when its speed has been dangerously slackened. See editorial pages for further explanation of this stabilizer, which was recently tested over New York City waters



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JOHN H. FAHEY
PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

See the article, "The Nation's Business and the Nation's Government," on the next page

THE NATION'S BUSINESS AND THE NATION'S GOVERNMENT

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY, PURPOSES, AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY FELIX ORMAN

"AMERICAN business is being tried in the crucible of misdirected public opinion. Industry is being throttled by restrictive legislation. Shall we submit to a Government of political paternalism or return to our original idea of a Government of democracy?"

A vast audience of men representing the many commercial activities of Chicago listened with eager interest as these words rang through the hall with a note of deep earnestness. The speaker's ardor was that of a crusader; the gospel he carried was one that he said touched the foundation of our National prosperity.

"Business," he continued, "is troubled to-day because, in the effort to overcome unhealthy conditions of the past, we are confronted with the danger of cutting loose from some of our Constitutional safeguards, and of making laws and establishing policies which are un-American and are likely to be fraught with some danger to our industrial development."

The man who stirred this gathering of business men was one of a number of commercial leaders who for years had urged that a National movement be started to safeguard business interests against influences and restrictions which they predicted would become ruinous. He cried out against the inharmony between business and legislation. Then:

"American business is the embodiment of inventive genius, commercial courage, resourcefulness, and adaptability. Its achievements have been monumental, commanding the admiration of the world. Yet consider the craze for investigation—how it has run rampant over the country during the last ten years. The legislation of the country has not kept pace with the industrial development. If business had waited for permissive legislation to do the things it has done, business and commerce would have decayed along the path.

"Look at the natural evolution in point of speed of organization. Individual effort was

succeeded by copartnership; copartnerships became corporations; corporations became combinations; and combinations became still greater as we pyramided the business genius and commercial courage of our business men into these great aggregations of capital and labor that have produced so much to make us known the world over as the most aggressive and the greatest commercial nation under the sun."

The speaker's words were prophetic. They pictured in broad strokes the serious losses American business had borne from conflict with the Government; they emphasized with dramatic force the belief that American commerce would suffer a decline if its voice could not be raised in the halls of Government. He then told of the newly created Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, whose purpose was to represent the business of the country as a whole and co-operate with the Government, and with other organized industrial interests, in achieving a greater prosperity for the Nation.

Two weeks before there had visited Chicago Dr. Fritz Carus, a distinguished Austrian economist, who had come to this country to attend the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce. A thorough student of the economic developments of the world, he had been making an analysis of American industrial conditions as compared with those of other nations of the world.

"You Americans, more than any other people of the world," he said in an interview with the writer, "have a genius for industrial organization. Your commercial development has been remarkable—all the more so because business in your country has been handicapped by not having a National organization or any direct method of co-operating with the National Government. Indeed, it seems to us foreigners that where in our own countries the national governments aid in commercial development, your Government retards the larger functions of business-building.

"But you now have taken a step in the

right direction. Your great business interests have effected a National organization within the last few months, and we shall witness before very long a communion between commerce and Government in this country which will make for a larger and better commercial system."

For thirty-three years—beginning, it may be said, with the appointment of the Inter-State Commerce Commission in 1882—American business and the National Government have been frequently at odds. Little harmony has existed between commercial interests and governing bodies, State or National; and the misunderstandings often have been bitter. There also has been distrust, business being suspicious of Government and Government suspicious of business. "Big business" has been criticised, sometimes deservedly; but the whole commercial structure has been shaken, and the cry of the "menace of capital" has been destructive generally to commercial operations, in the opinion of business leaders.

Also as a result of the lack of co-operation between commercial interests and the National Government there developed the lobby system, which has become one of the most pernicious evils visited upon business and the body politic. No way being available for business as a whole to express a voice in Government, individual commercial firms and organizations began to press selfish interests; influences were brought to bear upon legislators, and the lobby methods of State and National capitals became a subject for wide condemnation. Business for many years has complained of being injured by hasty and radical legislation, enacted without the co-operation of business men. Statistics, it has been pointed out, show that from sixty to seventy per cent of the legislation affecting business in Congress during the last twenty years has been amending legislation necessary to correct the errors of previous legislative activity.

Under such conditions business was necessarily restricted. Some years ago commercial men began looking around to see how they could make their voices heard. A number of them had traveled in Europe and become impressed with the work of the Chambers of Commerce in the foreign communities they visited. They found that in Europe the commercial organizations had been strong factors in the development of the foreign

and domestic trades of the most progressive nations.

These American business men traveling abroad were interested to learn that in European countries the commercial organization was as much a public institution as any municipal department in an American town or city. For many years they had contributed importantly to trade building in their respective communities, and through National co-operation to the commercial development of the Nation. The European merchant is obliged to contribute from his net income to the maintenance of these industrial unions; and he, in turn, receives from the government protection and co-operation, which make for his success. These foreign associations have committees of arbitration which pass upon legal cases affecting business—the kind of cases that in this country clog the courts from term to term. Also the European commercial organizations work so closely with the governments that their officers draft trade treaties and national or international laws having a bearing on business.

Probably the most widely known of all the national commercial bodies is the *Deutscher Handelstag*, a union of all the Chambers of Commerce of Germany, which has existed fifty years. The President of this organization is Johannes Kempff, who is also the chief executive of the Reichstag. The great trade extension by Germany, which began on a large scale about the year 1887, was promoted and carried forward by this industrial branch of the Government of the German Empire. The federated commercial associations of France, Austria, Italy, and Switzerland have existed for nearly half a century. Great Britain has two large national commercial bodies—the Imperial Council of Commerce, of which Lord Desborough is President; and the British Association of Chambers of Commerce, which has Sir Algernon Firth as its head.

But in this country it was not until three years ago that a successful National movement for the promotion of the commerce of the Nation was started. With all our industrial growth—and no nation has witnessed a larger or more diversified trade building than our own—business marched along unaided by any concrete National effort in its behalf. And business—so its leaders state—was assisted little, if indeed at all, by State or National Government. Each branch of industry worked out its own destiny, inde-

pendent of all other lines of commercial activity.

Local commercial organizations often had rendered an effective service, coping with problems essentially local, and meeting conditions peculiar to the communities they served; but their function was only local. Many cities were supporting several associations of business men, all working for a common purpose, but, so it developed, differing in their methods, view-points, and systems of operation. The result was that often local organizations found themselves lined up on opposite sides in the consideration of important business questions, and not infrequently disagreement defeated their own purposes. Because of a lack of cohesion these local Chambers contributed no great benefit to the business of the Nation as a whole.

"They served their purpose," said Mr. Harry A. Wheeler, of Chicago, the first President of the National Chamber, "as units in their own communities, or as representatives of a single trade, with the selfish purpose only of fostering the interests of a single line of business. There was never a point of contact. Each unit worked upon its own initiative and for its own ends; its point of view was localized. . . . The interests were as varied as there are geographical divisions of the country and trades to be served; and yet in the fundamentals that relate to the economic development of business in the Nation, there were interests in common which it became absolutely necessary to emphasize, and this emphasis could only be given by an organization representative of the whole, and honestly authorized to speak for American business."

There was gradually forced upon the consciousness of American business men the significance of the fact that the business of the country was being regulated by legislation enacted largely by men unschooled in business. If a representative of a local Chamber of Commerce or trade association attempted to make himself heard at Washington or at a State capital, that representative invariably was confronted with a statement after this fashion: "*You do not come here representing more than an individual interest or an individual or community opinion.*"

No definite action was taken to bring the Nation into a unity of commercial thought and action until early in 1912, when President Taft issued a call for a National Commercial Conference to be held in Washington. In

calling this Conference the President stated that he wished to account for the fact that economic legislation which had taken place during the three years of his term had been enacted without the competent advice of business men.

The President said: "With a period of constructive legislation before and upon us, it is obviously the more necessary that American business shall so organize itself as to be able to speak through a common medium and with an accredited voice regarding these processes of legislation which are so closely linked to the successful operation of American business."

Prior to this, so commercial leaders contended, the Government had not indicated a belief that business should have a voice in the molding of legislation affecting business—this, too, despite the fact that continuous conflict had long existed between business and the governing bodies as to legislation bearing on business. In contrast to this condition was the constructive co-operation which had been achieved between the Government and other organized industrial interests. Labor and agriculture had full representation in all legislative activity affecting their rights, the counsel of accredited authorities on labor and agricultural subjects being sought wherever action affecting them came up in any Government department.

"How can business and the National Government be brought together in a broad National co-operation that will aid both business and the Government?" asked President Taft.

There came immediate response from business men in all directions who for years had been thinking, writing, speaking, and working to achieve the end sought by the President. They had looked into the future and realized that business must make itself heard and exert its influence for the general good of the country; they felt that the chasm between business and the Government must be bridged.

These men, in substance, replied to President Taft: Business must be represented by a National organization that will work in close co-operation with the National Government; that will Nationalize the business mind, create a unity of commercial thought and action, and so focus the business sentiment of the country and so constructively represent the business needs of the country that Congress and the executives of the Ad-

ministration will be able to ascertain from impartial and unselfish sources the business feeling of the Nation. And such an organization would be in a position to keep Congress informed on the actual business requirements of the Nation in so far as legislation is concerned.

On April 22, 1912, there assembled at Washington, in response to the President's call, six hundred delegates representing three hundred and seventeen commercial organizations. They came from all but one State in the Union, and there were present also delegates from the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and from the American Chambers of Commerce of Paris, Brussels, and Constantinople.

The time had come for the organization of a great National body to foster the interests of American foreign and domestic commerce; and this National Commercial Conference was empowered to establish upon the broadest possible foundation the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. Back of this movement lay years of thought and labor by men who had been active in many of the reorganized business associations in different parts of the country. Those whose activities are most familiar to the writer are Mr. Harry A. Wheeler, of Chicago; Mr. John H. Fahey and Mr. Edward A. Filene, of Boston; and Mr. Wallace D. Simmons, of St. Louis. Mr. Wheeler, as the head of the Chicago Association of Commerce and the first President of the National Chamber, became recognized as a commercial statesman. Mr. Fahey gained a large attention as President of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, and later traveled in many countries making a study of international commercial problems. Mr. Filene, who is also a Vice-President of the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce, has been an enthusiastic pioneer in crystallizing the movement for increasing the efficiency of local business organizations throughout the country. A believer in the theory that a chain is as strong as its weakest link, he was a prime mover in establishing a system of instruction for salespeople, and this educational idea for individual efficiency he has emphasized in the National Chamber. Mr. Simmons's activity in behalf of commercial advance is widely known in St. Louis and throughout the Middle West. The National Association of Commercial Executives,

made up of the secretaries of organizations, had also planned a National commercial body.

Two basic principles were laid down by the National Commercial Conference for the government of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. The first was that absolute democracy should be assured; that organizations in large and small cities should be admitted to membership on equal ground, with a National Councilor representing each. The second principle imposed was that action by the National Chamber should be only by vote of duly authorized representatives in the annual or special meetings, and, in the periods between meetings, by printed referendum. It also was decreed that only National questions affecting our commercial life should be considered, and that an exhaustive and impartial analysis of every question proposed for action should be made before being presented to the members of the National Chamber.

A spirit of loyalty and patriotism formed an impressive background for the work of the National body from its inception and gave the movement a quick success. Business men rallied to the support of the fine ideals and purposes of the National organizations as a soldier stands by his flag. Here was a magnificent cause in which three hundred thousand firms and corporations were enrolled for the great good of the commerce of the Nation.

The National Chamber began its ministrations with Mr. Harry A. Wheeler of Illinois as President; Mr. Wallace D. Simmons of Missouri, Mr. J. N. Teal of Oregon, Mr. A. B. Farquhar of Pennsylvania, and Mr. H. E. Miles of Wisconsin as Vice-Presidents; Mr. John Joy Edson of the District of Columbia as Treasurer; and Mr. John H. Fahey of Massachusetts as Chairman of the Executive Committee. Mr. Elliot H. Goodwin resigned from the Secretaryship of the National Civil Service Reform League to become General Secretary of the National Chamber. There was a board of twenty-five directors.

The present officers are: President, Mr. John H. Fahey; Vice-Presidents, Mr. Henry L. Corbett of Oregon, Mr. Robert F. Maddox of Georgia, Mr. A. B. Farquhar of Pennsylvania, Mr. A. H. Mulliken of Illinois, and Mr. James G. Cutler of New York, Chairman of the Executive Committee;

Mr. Edson, Treasurer; and Mr. Goodwin, General Secretary.

From the first, the National Chamber had a firm hold on all matters pertaining to the business life of the country, taking advantage of and basing its system of procedure on investigations made during preceding years into the needs of the Nation's business. Elaborate study and inquiry by men of broad experience, keen analytical power, and patriotic enthusiasm had yielded much valuable data, which was pressed into immediate use by the National Chamber in the pursuance of its work in behalf of the National commercial interests. Headquarters were opened in the Riggs Building in Washington, whose windows look upon the United States Treasury Building; and here there was developed the extensive system that in less than three years has placed the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America in the dominant position in the international family of commercial bodies. Every means was provided for the scientific study of the business issues and problems of the Nation, for action thereon, and for the dissemination of propaganda that would educate and nationalize American business.

An information and co-operative bureau with extensive ramifications was established, and has been so maintained as to exercise a large usefulness for American business men. This bureau is educative and advisory; it and other departments of the National Chamber help business men and local organizations to help themselves. The local industrial associations throughout the country and their members thus became units in a vast machinery working for the common business good. Soon after the organization of the National Chamber was effected a weekly bulletin service was inaugurated. Throughout the year all activities in Governmental departments affecting business are analyzed and discussed in weekly bulletins. This service was supplemented by weekly circulars during the sessions of Congress explaining and giving the status of all proposed legislation bearing on business. Additional bulletins are issued whenever occasion requires—on business or crop conditions, or any important developments in the trade field. The National Chamber next turned to the publication of a monthly newspaper treating constructively all phases of business. This journal—"The Nation's Business"—now is widely read by business men throughout the country.

Attracted by the work of the National Chamber, thousands of new members became interested in the local Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, and new local commercial unions were organized to participate in the National co-operative movement. The number of commercial bodies represented in the National Chamber increased from three hundred and seventeen to six hundred, with a constituent membership of more than a quarter of a million. Cordial co-operation was everywhere manifest.

With each week after the beginning of the work of the National body, the officers and directors broadened their activities and left their impress more on the business mind of the country. One of the earliest achievements of the National Chamber was the dealing of a severe blow to the lobby system. It is told that the lobby method of seeking to influence business legislation has practically ceased to exist at Washington as a result of the opposition to it by the National Chamber.

Meetings of the officers, the directors, and the Executive Committee were held in different sections of the country; and these commercial patriots carried the gospel of business by word of mouth to many thousands of people in scattered sections of the United States. They told of this great National body, non-political and non-partisan in character, that was establishing a new spirit in business; that was forming a basis of relationship between every community and the Nation at large; that was converting a tremendous divergency of individual interest into a unity of action; and that was carrying the voice of business into the halls of Congress and demanding, impartially and legitimately, that this voice be heard. They told of establishing the definite confidence of Congressional leaders of all parties and the executive heads of the Governmental departments in the work of the National Chamber. These speaking tours partook of the character of a crusade and evoked great enthusiasm. They achieved National interest in and National co-operation with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; they created in the minds of business men the thought of service to the State.

In November, 1912, the National Chamber first tested its strength in ascertaining the business sentiment of the country by issuing a referendum on a subject of National importance. The response was so general that the officers of the body were

assured of solid co-operation among the local commercial organizations of the country. After this the National Chamber plunged into a campaign of active work. Less than three years old, this organization now has developed a greater numerical strength than that attained by commercial unions of Europe in half a century. By the time these lines are read the delegates to the third annual convention of the National Chamber will be in session in Washington, and the reports submitted to this convention may establish an adequate estimate of the position occupied by this body in the life of the Nation.

The work of the National Chamber is so broad that the present account must necessarily limit itself to a sketch of what the association has accomplished. This organization has handled scientifically such questions as the rehabilitation of the Merchant Marine, the extension of American trade into foreign countries, and the promotion of American business abroad by the appointment of commercial attachés to our foreign embassies. Moreover, it has taken an active part in framing laws bearing on banking and currency, trust and tariff regulation, and other branches of trade promotion and protection. An adequate telling of the work of the National Chamber can be written only when the achievements of this body can be viewed in broader perspective than at this time.

The most significant expression of co-operation among the business organizations of the Nation as a whole is contained in the referendums submitted by the National Chamber to its members and the response thereto. These referendums are issued whenever a subject arises upon which the National Chamber desires the sentiment of the business men of the country. Forty-five days are allowed for consideration of the referendums, and two-thirds of the votes cast must be favorable to the proposition or the National Chamber will not commit itself on the subject involved. Eight referendums thus far have been issued. In each instance the local organizations throughout the country supported the proposition of the National Chamber. Following is an outline of the referendums as taken:

REFERENDUM NUMBER ONE

November 30, 1912—On the Question of a Plan for a National Budget.

This provided, mainly, that the President, as the Chief Executive of the Administration,

would submit to Congress at the beginning of each session the financial programme of the Administration for the fiscal year, beginning the first of July following its submission. As practically everything undertaken by the Government requires an appropriation in some form or other, such a financial programme would necessarily include a programme of proposed activity, or, in other words, the work programme of the Government, together with a statement of the changes in law necessary to carry it out, and suggestions for increasing the economy and efficiency with which the public business is transacted. Thus the Budget Message would in itself present to Congress and to the people of the United States a brief statement of the administrative policy which, in the opinion of the Executive, the Government of the United States should pursue. The budget proper would contain (1) a summary financial statement, (2) a summary of expenditures, (3) a summary of estimates, and (4) a summary of the changes in law deemed advisable. This referendum also provided that the Secretary of the Treasury be required to submit to Congress detailed reports supporting the general summaries and executive conclusions or recommendations contained in the budget.

The first referendum, as explained by President Fahey and Secretary Goodwin, was largely the first step in a National educational campaign. It was not a case, in the main, for legislation; it anticipated, not the enactment of a concrete bill, but an evolution in procedure and the overcoming of the inertia of custom.

REFERENDUM NUMBER TWO

April 30, 1913—On the Question of a Permanent Tariff Commission.

The plan for a Tariff Commission was submitted in the following form:

1. That the appointment, following the usual procedure, be vested in the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate.
2. That in order to make the Commission an effective administrative body the number of commissioners should be limited, preferably not more than five.
3. That the term of office of members of the Commission should be sufficiently long to give the board stability and permanency, preferably six years, and the terms of members should expire in rotation, as in the Inter-State Commerce Commission.
4. That a provision should be made for minority representation, as in the case of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, where not more than three of the five members shall be of one party.

The power of the Commission would be :

1. To gather, investigate, and tabulate technical and statistical facts of all kinds pertinent to the tariff schedules, both in this and other countries.

2. The reports of the Commission should be confined to ascertained facts and should exclude recommendations unless called for by the body having power to institute tariff legislation. The information secured by the Commission should be available to either House of Congress and to the President.

The vote on this referendum closed on June 14, 1913, and the canvass showed 715 votes in favor of the proposition, and against it only 9.

"This referendum," executives of the National Chamber explained, "was issued at the beginning of the present Administration. Here we want a concrete object and a piece of legislation to accomplish it, and we feel that we are nearer its realization than at any time since the referendum was taken."

REFERENDUM NUMBER THREE

April 30, 1913—On the Question of Placing on the Appropriation for the Enforcement of Anti-Trust Laws a Prohibition of its Use for the Prosecution of Labor and Agricultural Combinations.

This referendum dealt with a provision in the Sundry Civil Bill that no part of the appropriation for the enforcement of anti-trust laws should be used for the prosecution of labor or agricultural organizations. The National Chamber by a large majority objected to this as class legislation. The President signed the bill, but issued a statement that he had done so in view of the fact that no limitation was placed upon the opportunity or power of the Department of Justice to prosecute violations of the law by whomever committed, and that if he could have separated the rider from the rest of the bill he would have vetoed it.

REFERENDUM NUMBER FOUR

August 26, 1913—On the Question of the Approval of the Report of the Standing Committee on Currency and Banking of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America upon the Owen-Glass Currency Bill.

The Banking and Currency Law was dealt with by a special committee of twenty-four bankers, lawyers, and economists of National reputation, who made an exhaustive study of the subject for the National Chamber. After a careful examination of the provisions of the bill a report was made offering fourteen recom-

mendations for changes or amendments to the bill. This report was submitted to referendum. Each of the seven important amendments suggested in the report was submitted for a separate vote. These were approved by the members of the National Chamber. The Senate Committee which was considering the Owen-Glass Bill received a delegation from the National Chamber and heard an explanation of the significance of the referendum. This delegation was composed of Mr. Harry A. Wheeler, then President; Mr. Wallace D. Simmons, Chairman of the Chamber's Committee; and two of his colleagues—Mr. Edmund D. Fisher and Professor Joseph French Johnson, of New York. A majority of the seven important suggestions made by the Chamber were incorporated in the Banking and Currency Law as passed, the most important of which was the appointment of an Advisory Council to the Federal Reserve Board.

No more striking example of the force and influence of public business opinion thus carefully ascertained and brought to a focus has yet been presented than the part that the National Chamber took in perfecting the Currency Bill which has become law.

REFERENDUM NUMBER FIVE

November 8, 1913—On the Question of the Approval of the Special Report of the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America on the Department of Commerce Concerning the Development of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Department of Commerce.

A special committee of the National Chamber analyzed a report of the Secretary of Commerce looking to the enlargement of the scope of the Department of Commerce. This report of the National Chamber advocated a far greater activity than had hitherto existed for the promotion of trade in the United States and for the extension of American trade to foreign countries; it also urged the appointment of commercial attachés to the American embassies in the most important foreign cities. In the main, this report followed and elaborated on Secretary Redfield's report. The Secretary followed its provisions and secured appropriations for trade building as suggested, and for the appointment of commercial attachés to be stationed at London, England; Paris, France; Berlin, Germany; St. Petersburg, Russia; Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Buenos Aires, Argentina; Lima, Peru; Santiago, Chile; and Peking, China.

REFERENDUM NUMBER SIX

November 8, 1913—On the Question of the Establishment by Congress of a Bureau

or Bureaus of Legislative Reference and Bill-Drafting.

This referendum urged the establishment by Congress of a bureau or bureaus that would place all committee hearings and all data bearing on laws where they would be available to the public. Members of the National Chamber strongly indorsed the proposition. No specific bill providing for these bureaus has been passed, but an appropriation has been made to the Library of Congress for the establishment of a Legislative Reference Bureau.

REFERENDUM NUMBER SEVEN

April 14, 1914—On the Report of the Special Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America on Trust Legislation in Regard to the Proposal to Create an Inter-State Trade Commission.

This subject was taken up more than a year ago by the National Chamber and considered by a special committee, made up of eminent lawyers, economists, and leaders in the business field. The Committee approved the idea of an Inter-State Trade Commission, and offered ten separate suggestions for amendments to the bill, a majority of which were incorporated in the bill as enacted.

REFERENDUM NUMBER EIGHT

May 25, 1914—On the Report of the Special Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America on Trust Legislation Relative to Proposals for Legislation Regulating Business Practices.

This referendum was based on a report of a special committee which made a number of recommendations for changes in or amendments to the Clayton Bill. Many of the ideas and plans suggested were incorporated in the bill, although the bill as passed contained clauses regarding labor and appropriations to which the National Chamber objected.

"Has the Chamber of Commerce of the United States justified its existence?" an executive of that body asked the writer.

Business men of the country have answered the question in the affirmative. In addition to its vast educational and co-operative work the National Chamber has a number of large achievements to its credit, any one of which would have justified its existence.

The National Chamber took an active part

in framing the Banking and Currency Law and secured the appointment of an Advisory Council to the Federal Reserve Board.

It assisted effectively in establishing on a firm basis the Inter-State Trade Commission and brought about the appointment of commercial attachés to our foreign embassies.

It influenced the addition of a number of important amendments to the Clayton Bill.

It has promoted many movements to enlarge American commerce.

It assisted the Secretary of the Treasury and other Government officials, at the outbreak of the European war, in fortifying American commercial interests against serious financial complications.

"The National Chamber has done an effective work," said President Fahey to the writer, "but what appears to me as the most important achievement thus far has been the getting together of the business men of the country in a great co-operative movement of this kind. The scope and power of this National body of business men is very large. Every subject is approached and handled with the utmost care and caution; the most scientific study is given every proposition presented. Already we have brought about complete harmony and co-operation among the business organizations of the country. All are working for the common good of the Nation's business.

"The National Chamber is creating a greater democracy and is educating the business men of the United States to a finer conception of business and the place of business in the National life. One important result of our work is that when we present a plea or offer suggestions to Congress the members of that body realize that here is not a packed opinion, but something dealt with from a non-political and non-partisan view-point, with the most careful deliberation, and representing the sentiment of the business men of the Nation as a whole."

It is safe to predict that within a decade the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, now less than three years old, will have registered itself a force in the life of the Nation as great as has been the *Deutscher Handelstag* in German national life after an existence of half a century.

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

BY FRANK CRANE

MAY I be allowed, in the impartial pages of *The Outlook*, to state my opinion, which is directly opposed to the conclusion given in the article "Christianity and War," in your issue of January 13, 1915?

These are the reasons, to my mind, why an intelligent, twentieth-century, democratic Christian should refuse to go to war.

1. The commandment "Thou shalt not kill" is binding not only upon individuals but upon organizations. The most "damnable heresy" of these times is that Machiavellian theory that a state (also a board of directors or a corporation) is justified in doing things which in one person would be sinful. To rob a stockholder through corporate action is as immoral as to pick his pocket; so to murder by platoons under a flag is as wicked as to kill with a revolver one man in the street. As a Christian I refuse to be a hangman or a soldier, even as I would refuse to shoot my neighbor.

2. All war is due to the stupidity or to the malfeasance of rulers. General Grant said there never was a war where the issue "could not have been better settled some other way." I refuse to kill citizens of another country simply because my governors have blundered.

3. "Princes," said Colton, "sometimes profit by war, the people never." Wars are the acts of autocracy. No democracy ever votes for war. The populace of no country in Europe was given a chance to say whether it wanted armed conflict or not. A group of a few "statesmen" precipitated the catastrophe. As a democrat, I refuse to give my life for what plainly is not the will of the people.

4. War is the greatest conceivable crime, "the sum of all villainies," carrying with it every form of violence, inhumanity, and deviltry; to participate in it I should be personally guilty of the deepest possible offense toward Almighty God.

5. War nowadays is sustained by patriotism. That is but a phase in the evolution of conscience. First comes self-defense, then the family feeling, then the tribe, then the nation. That is not the end. The next step is the world. World feeling should be given precedence over national. Where the two conflict the latter should give way. "Above

all nations is humanity," said Elihu Burritt. An enlightened patriotism, therefore, leads me to do all I can for my country's welfare, but this always subject to the welfare of humanity. I am a human being before I am an American. I will not kill Japanese or Germans that Americans be advanced.

6. There is no patriotism in Jesus. He was clear-visioned and saw that the only permanent social enthusiasm was humanity. Therefore his doctrines teach that I am a brother to Russians and Chinese and all the world. In this enthusiasm for humanity no war is possible. What patriotism unchecked by the larger passion leads to is seen in the horror of the present war. Millions of men, having no personal animosity toward each other, and not knowing what it is all about, butcher and maim one another. Patriotism, nationalism, with no sense of world-welfare, becomes a hideous, monstrous delusion.

7. To hope for right and justice from the arbitrament of arms is absurd. Truth is not determined by the largest battalions. War is simply a duel between nations that will not go to court. I will not engage in war for the same reason that I will not fight a duel. This used to be called cowardice. No sane men duel to day.

8. The opposite to war is not peace but law. There is only one way to stop war, and that is by some sort of world government, wherein law shall be between nations as well as within nations. The existing condition is simply international anarchy. To end the six thousand years of bloodshed we must have one international court, and subject to this court one international armed force to enforce its decrees. There is no other imaginable way out. Therefore it is the duty of the Christian to bend every energy to attain this end.

9. The trouble with Congress, the magazines, the newspapers, and all agents of the expression of opinion in this country is that they are pointed in the wrong direction. We talk of defense against attack and urge more ships and cannon; our talk should be of co-operation with other nations to secure federation. We have a War Department; it ought to be called a World Government Department. The object of the army and navy should definitely be to prevent war,

instead of to be ready for war. This can be accomplished only by coalition with other states. We might begin with a Pan-American Federation. This would absorb and submerge the Monroe Doctrine, which at present is a source of irritation to Europe and of humiliation to South and Central America.

I would therefore wish that The Outlook adopt a forward, constructive platform; that it would advocate spending \$250,000,000 a year, not on maintaining armament to perpetuate the present anarchy, but on advancing the cause of world federation. My cry would be: Millions for international government and not one cent for anarchy.

10. I believe Kant's "categorical imperative" is the most intelligent statement of Christian morality—that I should act in the way I would wish all men everywhere to act. And I certainly believe that if every Christian would refuse to go to war, as I would, the world would be better off.

11. The whole war business is a fearful delusion, a blindness, and an insanity. The truth is that the nation that will disarm will be unconquerable. To lay down our arms, to act justly, and to offer to arbitrate all differences, and, having done all, to rest our case with the public opinion of the world, would insure us against hostile invasion a thousand times better than battle-ships. We speak of "adequate defense." To spend a quadrillion dollars on armament, till every headland on the ocean bristled with huge guns, and every citizen was a soldier, would invite, not prevent, war. The more "invincible" a nation, the surer its fall, as Greece, Rome, and Spain have shown us.

12. Faith is as needed nationally as individually. There is no salvation but by faith. If this or any nation will disarm, utterly exclude war from its programme, and trust to the justice of mankind, it will lead the world. No nation will dare attack it. To invade it would be piracy, not war. It is the lack of this faith that is the matter with us and with

the world. "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

13. Never in the history of nations has such amazing hypocrisy been known. The various rulers, professedly Christian, go to their respective churches and pray Christ's blessing upon their arms. If Christ's teaching and example mean anything, they mean exactly the opposite of war. His doctrine was kindness, forbearance, a refusal to appeal to physical force, and an utter reliance upon the spiritual forces of righteousness. And they pray to him to bless their violence, vanity, rapine, and assassination. The ancients who sacrificed to Mars or Odin before the conflict were at least consistent. To pray to Jesus of Nazareth to bless war is unspeakable blasphemy.

14. No man's creed is of any value except he be willing to die for it. I am willing. In case we drift into war with some other nation I shall gladly go out, stand against the wall, and be shot as a coward and traitor for refusing to kill citizens of another geographical territory, for I shall then be dying for a high principle I believe in instead of for the unspeakable hell of war, which I do not believe in. Knowing that murder is expressly forbidden by the God I serve, knowing that my rulers might have settled the dispute "some other way," knowing that the war was not voted upon by the democracy of which I am a member, hating with all my heart the jingo appeals to national egotism and race prejudice, striving to love my Mexican or Chinese neighbor as myself, believing that a Christly and gentlemanly attitude is as possible for my country as for myself, and being convinced that, had the United States spent one-half the energy in promoting a federation of the world, a league of peace, or some other form of world government that it spent in military preparedness, it could not have fallen into war, I would lay down my life as cheerfully as ever any martyr in the Roman arena. If this be cowardice, let the militarists make the most of it!

Dr. Crane says: "To end the six thousand years of bloodshed we must have one international court, and subject to this court one international armed force TO ENFORCE ITS DECREES." Which would be war.—THE EDITORS.

WILL THE SHIPPING BILL HELP OR HURT OUR COMMERCE?

BY AGNES C. LAUT

THERE exists only one supreme test of any merchant marine policy for the United States. Will it deliver the goods? Will it give Uncle Sam a fleet of merchant ships for overseas trade adequate for his enormous foreign traffic? Will it increase the number of ships under the United States flag, or lessen the number? Uncle Sam needs ships for foreign trade. Will the policy give them to him?

It doesn't matter very much to the United States that the only other state-owned fleet now being attempted—in western Australia—annually winds up with an enormous loss. Failures elsewhere do not count here. This country has been doing successfully for a hundred years any number of things in which other countries have failed; but the one thing in which Uncle Sam has conspicuously failed is in the running of an ocean fleet. Before the outbreak of the war there were seldom more than eight ships under the American flag on the Atlantic, and less than a dozen on the Pacific. Other American-owned ships did business under foreign flags.

A distinction should be marked between ocean and coastal shipping. From coastal shipping—port to port on the American coast—foreign ships are excluded; and Uncle Sam's coastal fleet increased from almost three million tons vessel register in 1860 to almost seven million tons in 1914; but in ocean or foreign traffic developments have gone the other way—almost to the point of extinction for the United States flag. In 1914 of Uncle Sam's enormous four billions of foreign commerce United States ships carried only a little over eight per cent.

Nor does it matter very much to the American shipper what inside politics may be behind a merchant marine policy. The Southerner selling cotton at six cents—as he did in September—when the price was eighteen and twenty cents a pound in Germany, isn't especially excited by the rumor in shipping circles that big foreign lines with ships tied up at American wharfs contributed heavily to Tammany preceding November elections with a view to selling ships to Uncle Sam himself.

What the Southern shipper wants is ships,

not politics. If a private individual likes to buy those ships, whether they are German or British, and likes to risk capture owing to the Declaration of London, which clearly states that ships bought from belligerents within sixty days of the outbreak of hostilities cannot be regarded as neutral, then the American shipper has nothing to say. He doesn't want to see a shot fired across a ship owned by Uncle Sam; but he ships at the buyer's risk, and he wants—ships.

For a hundred years every fanciful kind of legislation regarding navigation has been passed on the subject of the American merchant marine—laws as to air space, hours of labor, wages, citizenship, leave ashore, deck crews, lifeboats, oil cargo, laws as to food, fodder, and fooleries; and half the laws passed have simply added barnacles to America's law-logged merchant marine. Instead of helping, the navigation laws have pretty nearly navigated the United States flag off the high seas; and what the American shipper wants is—ships.

He has been told that wages and cost of material and expensive operation, so much higher in the United States than in foreign countries—from forty to sixty per cent—prevent American ships competing against foreign carriers; but that argument is not very convincing. Wages, material, and general operation are higher in the United States than in foreign countries for steel and sewing-machines and motor cars and farm implements; but that has not prevented these American products from invading foreign markets and capturing foreign markets from low-wage competition.

Why, then, has Uncle Sam no ships engaged in foreign trade? This was the question the American shipper asked impotently when the war broke out. In answer, the Administration changed the Ship Registry Law, permitting foreign-built vessels to come under the United States flag. Over a hundred vessels—at the time of writing, 105—bought or built abroad came under the United States flag; but there were some unexpectedly comical results. The Robert Dollar, from San Francisco, having brought 5,500,000 feet of lumber from British Co-

lumbia to New London, was about to coal up at Norfolk for the Orient, when it loyally ran up the Stars and Stripes. At once the entire Chinese crew went on strike for American wages. Crews contented with Chinese wages under a foreign flag suddenly demanded white man's wages under a United States flag. Winthrop Marvin, Secretary of the Roosevelt Marine Commission, relates a similar case of a United States Steel ship. When the flag was changed, the increase in wages in the engine-room alone was from \$282 a month to \$420. Loyalty came high. It pays during the war, when charter rates are high and risks to foreign carriers great; but after the war, when the foreign wage drops and the risks are over, will the change of the flag add one vessel to the merchant marine of this country?

For fifty years the United States has seen the thrifty nations of Europe grow rich on the pickings of American ocean traffic. Three hundred millions a year of tribute this country has paid in gold to Germany and England in cargo freight across the Atlantic on American commerce. Add to that two hundred and fifty million dollars a year—Sir George Paish's figures—spent by American tourists in Europe, and those two amounts alone were sufficient to keep the balance of gold in Europe. Those two amounts alone—not counting the value of commerce purchases abroad—equaled a hundred million more than the world's gold production for a year. Was it any wonder that the end of every year saw a gold stringency in the United States—saw American gold transferred to German war chests and Bank of England vaults?

Yet till the war broke out the American public never really wakened up to realize what lack of ships meant. Why not let the other nation carry the freight? Why not, indeed?—when suddenly the war broke out, and the South saw itself beggared for lack of ships to carry its cotton. The South saw itself with the largest and best cotton crop in its history as completely cut off from the market as if beleaguered by men-of-war at every port. Till the outbreak of the war three of the leading cotton ports of the South had not shipped one bale of cotton under the American flag for ten years.

Hitherto the indifference of the Middle West in marine matters has been one of the greatest hindrances to the development of a merchant fleet by the United States. Con-

gressmen from the Middle West have referred to Panama as a "mud puddle for lily pads." How has the war hit the Middle West? It, too, had one of the best cereal crops in its history. I was talking to a shrewd operator on the Chicago Board of Trade a week after the war broke out. He told me that if England lost control of the sea lanes he expected to see wheat down to sixty cents. For three weeks wheat was almost an embargo at Atlantic ports. When it became apparent that England could patrol the lanes of the sea, the embargo lifted; but when the blockade lifted it was found that rates had gone up on an aeroplane, above anything known to trade. Ship-owners well content with earnings of \$5,000 before the war suddenly began earning \$50,000 a month. Wheat, that had been at an ocean freight rate of four to five cents to Liverpool, suddenly jumped to seventeen and nineteen cents to Liverpool, and thirty-six cents to Rotterdam. Cotton, that had a cargo rate of twenty cents a hundredweight, now paid seventy-five cents, and has since mounted to three dollars. In places the ocean freight on cotton was almost as high as the market price per pound. Wheat from the Pacific coast went up to the rate of the old California gold days, \$10 a ton.

When Mr. McAdoo in his Chicago address quoted the sudden jump of rates as reason for the Middle West supporting the Ship Purchase Bill, an indignant exporter wrote to the press begging the country "not to let him get away with *that*; for the buyer paid the freight." What was it to us whether the grain rate were three cents or thirty cents, the cotton rate three cents or three dollars, if the buyer had to pay it? But does the buyer pay the freight? Is not that the real error beneath the indifference of the Middle West towards a merchant marine? I am sometimes an amateur farmer. I have relatives in the Far West who are amateur farmers in a larger way. We grow the same kind of wheat from the same kind of seed. The freight rate to my market is about six cents. The freight rate for them to the world markets is thirty-eight to forty-four cents a hundred. Where in ordinary years I receive \$1.14 to \$1.25, they receive 77 to 88 cents, the difference being the freight to those world markets, where the real values of world commodities are determined by supply and demand. We may think the buyer is paying the freight. In a sense, he is; but if the seller could eliminate the distance between himself and

the world market, he would receive that world price, which equals local price plus freight. When returns are made to Eastern farmers for cattle, for apples, for potatoes, the returns are market price minus freight. The producer, as he knows to his sorrow, pays all charges; else would he get \$7 instead of \$2.50 for his apples, and 28 to 32 cents instead of 11 to 13 for his veal.

Mr. McAdoo was sound enough in his arguments of high freight as an appeal to the Middle West for a merchant marine; but were those high freights the result of the war? His own figures refute him here. He showed how the gross tonnage of world merchant fleets was 45,400,000 tons, of which half was British, two per cent only American. Of this gross tonnage, war had incapacitated 5,803,014 tons—that is, Austrian and German lines had been destroyed or run off the sea to the value of three and a half million tons. British tonnage had been withdrawn for Admiralty purposes to the extent of 1,700,000 tons; and there had been destroyed besides nearly half a million tons. The war had lessened the ocean carrier space by twelve per cent; but the increase of ocean rates was not twelve per cent. It was a thousand per cent. The figures did not jibe as an argument, though they startled the Middle West awake. An old sea captain of the Horn explained the situation to me. "It is *not* that cargo space is short. It's the mined seas, and the risk, and the high insurance, and, most of all, the plain fact that *ship-owners know American shippers haven't American ships. Prices for United States wheat and cotton are high; and the foreigners are soaking it to us.*"

Before the war began Panama had revived the interest of the most hidebound inlander in merchant marine matters. What was the use of building a four-hundred-million-dollar canal if only foreigners were to reap the advantage? Just when the Mexican revolution disabled the Tehuantepec route Panama opened. When Pacific coast lumber began coming round in unbroken bulk up the Hudson, up the Sound, to inland points at a rate cheaper than rail as 1 to 3, East and West awakened to a realization of what water traffic might mean. Ships driven from unsafe seas by the war began offering for cargo by Panama. Russia put on a line from Vladivostok. At the time of writing fifty-nine different vessels of regular lines have taken to the Panama route.

If you examine the cargoes of these new lines through Panama, the sudden transition from rail to water takes on deeper meaning. A Luckenbach vessel brought a cargo of products from Yuma, Arizona, to New York. The Robert Dollar and the American-Hawaiian are both bringing Pacific coast lumber; but most significant of all, lying on the American-Hawaiian docks at the Bush Terminals are St. Paul goods booked to California by Panama. Do you take in what that means? St. Paul is the very hub of that Middle West which has thought that a merchant marine did not matter; and St. Paul goods come half-way across the continent to go to California by New York and Panama, and find it \$5 a ton cheaper than straight west by rail. The thing is small; but it marks a revolution in the attitude of the inland mind to marine interests. Similar cases could be given of goods from Indiana, and even Missouri, going West by way of New York and Panama. The thing seems incredible; but, if you doubt it, write to the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company for a list of the goods they bill through Panama.

If anything more were required to drive home to the inland mind the need of the whole country for a merchant marine, the need to act as a unit to build up a merchant marine, then the relation of South America to unemployment supplies the clinch.

What connection has South America with unemployment? When the war broke out, why did factories for everything but armaments and clothing suddenly close in the United States? Because manufacturers saw their markets in Europe shut off certainly during the war, and afterwards perhaps for a long period of reconstruction. Now the war not only shut off those markets to the United States, but it prevented those fighting countries shipping their usual exports to South America. South America buys nearly \$1,000,000,000 a year of those very things shut off to Europe from the United States and from Europe to South America by the war. Why did the United States not jump in and preempt these vacated South American markets? Because Uncle Sam had not the ships. There were lines aplenty running to South America from the United States, but, with the exception of four—which have come under the United States flag since the change in the Registry Law—all the other regular lines were under the flags of the warring nations.

America's neutral commerce did not dare to risk these ships. This explains a seeming flat contradiction in the dispute over the Ship Purchase Bill. Friends of the bill declare that there are not ships for South American commerce. Enemies of the bill declare that ships to South America are going with empty cargo space. Both statements are true. The ships with empty cargo space are under the flags of the warring nations, and American shippers dare not risk sea raids. Ships under neutral flags, or under the American flag, such as those of United States Steel and United Fruit, have not gone to South and Central America with empty space. If the United States had had a fleet of merchantmen with their own docks and rail connections in South America, not a factory in the United States need have run half time, not an industrial worker need have gone unemployed.

High freight startled the South and the West out of their lethargy regarding a United States merchant marine. Panama traffic has awakened the Pacific. Grain grower, cotton planter, coastal shipper—all have been jolted into a realization of what lack of shipping means to a nation. It remained for South America to touch the manufacturers and the industrial workers.

At the very time other nations are crippled in their merchant fleets Uncle Sam girds himself to the job of building a merchant fleet for himself. If he had set himself to the task a year ago, he would have found every section of the seven seas fenced off in "foreign pools," allied to fight competition with cutthroat "fighting ships," with rebates which are legal to foreign ships but are not to American ships, with traffic conferences that could freeze out and ruin a newcomer. But the war has changed all that. The foreign pools of Hamburg and London and Liverpool and Bremen have parted company in a war-mad ferocity. "The fighting fleet," to cut a competitor to pieces by lower rates, is rigged up for real fighting indeed; and it will be many a long year before Hamburg-American and Cunarder will meet in harmony on rebates and traffic conferences. For the first time since 1812 Uncle Sam finds the sea a fair field with no favors. His heavily subsidized competitors, who have jockeyed his flag off the sea for a century, are crippling themselves in a war game the end of which no man can see.

It is the opportunity of a century—of an

opening and new century latent with undreamed possibilities for the United States. Will the United States grasp it? The country has no desire—as Irving Bush, Chairman of the Marine Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce, put it—"to take hold of the hot end of a poker by buying international complications;" but suppose the Government did not buy the interned ships of belligerents (though that is exactly what Secretary Redfield declared in the National Trade Convention of St. Louis that the Government might do); suppose the Government built its own ships or bought from such neutral nations as Norway, are government-owned ships the best solution? There is only one answer to the question, and that is fact.

The Government has owned and operated the Panama Line since 1903. *The one and only guarantee of success to any marine is full cargoes inbound and outbound.* Government business on Panama guaranteed this. The line carried no insurance. Mr. Redfield says its profits for the year ending June 30 were \$314,000. What Mr. Redfield neglects to tell is that when you add up its total profits for eleven years, they average only two per cent on the capital. Now no investor will contradict that American-Hawaiian, Luckenbach, United Fruit, United States Steel, the Dollar vessels, the Pacific Coast lumber line, the coal lines now being planned on the Gulf for trade to Central and South America, could not operate one day on two per cent profits. Bondholders and shareholders would throw such investments to the winds. Private lines would be bucking Government competition that would throw them on the scrap heap. Friends of the bill declare that the amount proposed by the Government would buy at least sixty vessels. Thirty millions would be likely to buy less than forty vessels. Even so, sixty Government vessels would displace double their number of those privately operated lines which are now reducing freight as 3 to 1. Rivals of an American merchant marine—some American railways and nearly all foreign steamships—could pray for hardly a better device to defeat Uncle Sam than a Government-owned line. If the supreme test of a marine policy be that it increase a nation's ships, the new policy promises nothing but disappointment.

At the very time that private capital, for the first time in a century, sees a chance of success in marine investment, at the very

time that foreign rivals are handicapped, Uncle Sam is scaring private capital away from marine investment; but there is a job, and a big one, for Uncle Sam if he wants it. It isn't subsidy. You don't hear subsidy mentioned in the present dispute. The strong lines have grown up without subsidy, and the weak lines could hardly thrive with it. It is a matter in no wise related to subsidy.

During the long years that the country was without a merchant fleet of its own Uncle Sam used to chuckle at cities charging the foreign lines high dock rates—as high as two hundred thousand dollars a year, some of them. Some of the leases run for the modest term of ninety-nine years. The results are a somewhat grim joke. As far as the Atlantic is concerned, *Uncle Sam does not own his own water-front*, and it may not have struck you, but it is a fact, that ten thousand ships at sea are utterly useless unless they can come ashore. The ship must touch the rail that runs back to the Hinterland. The consequence is that the streets of Atlantic ports

are torn to pieces by needless trucking that adds at least one dollar to every ton of freight going in and out.

There is no use blazing at the railways for owning the water-fronts. They don't; and they couldn't buy them if every freight car were ballasted with gold. Railway A owns a little patch here. Railway B owns another patch of water-front five miles across the city. When Railway A must ship freight received at the docks of Railway B, the trucks lumber across the city pavement, the taxpayer pays the repairs, and the shipper pays the freight; and the buyer pays the damage and delay. Times without number, right in New York Harbor, independent steamship lines have been done to death by the railways refusing through rates or rail connection; not because the railway wanted to do the little line to death, but because it depended on the big foreign line for freight inbound. This is a story by itself. It is too long to be told here; but if Uncle Sam wants a big job in a merchant marine way, he will find it in the subject of harbor fronts and terminals.

THE NEW BOOKS

Political and Economic Doctrines of John Marshall (The). By John Edward Oster. The Neale Publishing Company, New York. \$3.

This is a useful, though not a particularly well-arranged, compilation of the letters and decisions of Chief Justice Marshall. Most of the letters it contains are already in print, but in widely scattered sources. As here collected they reveal informingly the doctrines, character, and personality of the great expounder of the Constitution. His stanch Federalism is strikingly emphasized by them, as also the bitterness of his prejudice against Jefferson, whom in all sincerity he regarded as a man only less dangerous than Aaron Burr to the country. One of the most interesting letters of the collection is Marshall's stern reply to the letter written him by Hamilton urging his support of Jefferson as against Burr. Bad as Burr was, Marshall "could not bring himself to aid Mr. Jefferson." Also of special interest are some family letters giving Marshall's views on education, and three letters written to Washington from The Hague and Paris, describing the European situation as Marshall found it while he was abroad on the X.Y.Z. mission. These letters, however, do not throw any light on that strange adventure in diplomacy; and, on the whole, it must be said, the present collection will prove dis-

appointing to the historian. Still, Mr. Oster's task was well worth undertaking, and he has evidently worked at it with enthusiasm and diligence. In addition to the letters and decisions, he provides an excellent bibliography.

World's Story (The). Edited by Eva March Tappan. In 14 vols. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. \$30.

History may be presented to the student as a mere series of events and dates, as it sometimes has been presented in school history. In this case it is as dry as dust. It may be presented as an account of the evolution of the human race, the gradual development of the race, or of the special nation and its growth in civilization, organization, and culture. In this case it is interesting to the philosophical mind. It may be presented dramatically, in such a way as to bring out clearly the great human characters and their influence on the times in which they lived. In this case it is interesting to all those who care about their fellow-men. So told, history is, or ought to be, more readable, because it is more dramatic, than most novels.

This series of volumes will not take the place with the student of a coherent history pursued in either of these three ways, but it ought to present great interest in the subject to one who is pursuing the study of history, because it will

furnish what that study does not often furnish, the atmosphere of the time and the temperament and quality of the people of whom the student in his course is reading. It is customary in our colleges to recommend, and often to require, of the student of any subject of a literary or quasi-literary character collateral readings. This series of volumes ought to serve in any home the purpose served by such collateral readings. It also ought to serve the purpose of furnishing for evening reading both instructive and entertaining matter, much more valuable than the casual and haphazard reading which is so often the only kind indulged in.

Awakening (The). By Henry Bordeaux. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. \$1.35.

This story lacks the grace and charm which one expects in the best French fiction; but it is written with clearness and sincerity. The author of "The Fear of Living" is a man of intellectual character and conscience, and of that clean intelligence which is characteristic of the French. He deals in this book with a very serious problem, and states it with such force and interest that the book has passed through nearly a hundred editions in France.

The problem is the way in which a woman should meet the question of her husband's infidelity; and the interest of the story for American readers lies in the definiteness with which it brings out the position of the family in France, and sets it in strong contrast with the extreme individualism in this country, which is the prolific source of our increasing and lamentable divorces. In this case the young wife, never fully sympathetic with her husband nor responsive to him, on discovery of his unfaithfulness, instantly and rigidly takes the position that she will never have anything to do with him again, and starts proceedings for divorce. She discovers later that her mother, who is as orthodox as herself, has met with the same calamity, and that her father has fallen into the same sin as her husband. The story of the gradual change of her position and of the reconciliation is well told; and, although the book lacks the finish which it would have had, for instance, at the hands of Anatole France, it has what Anatole France does not give his books, moral fiber and integrity. The difference between the American and the French law creates some anomalous situations for American readers, and the story is instructive as well as interesting.

William Pardow. By Justine Ward. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. \$1.50.

We wish that every Protestant minister might read this book in order to get a favorable opinion of the Jesuits—not to substitute for, but to modify materially the unfavorable opinion which most Protestants entertain. We do not know where one could find a better interpretation of the favorable side of Jesuit discipline.

We may add that all ministers, Protestant and Roman Catholic, could read to advantage Book Second, which deals with William Pardow's pulpit eloquence and his method of preparing for the pulpit.

Honest House (The). By Ruby Ross Goodnow, in collaboration with Rayne Adams. The Century Company, New York. \$3.

Every man likes to think that he can build a house—his own house—something which will be a physical expression of himself. Most men cannot build large houses. But the desire to build a worth-while house, small or large, exists with every one. Practically, it must be a comfortable house. *Æsthetically*, it must be an agreeable house to look at. Many attempts have been made at American house-building. There have been some failures. There have been a gratifying number of successes. The present volume points out some of the failures and describes some of the successes. It differs, therefore, from that kind of book which deals only with successes. It should have a wide circulation.

Practice of Christianity (The). By the Author of "Pro Christo et Ecclesia." The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.25.

This book is interesting, original, suggestive, and vital, but it sometimes irritates the thoughtful reader by its unproved assumptions, as, for example, by its assumption that the American colonies could have acquired independence by peaceful diplomacy, and by its equally untenable assumption that slavery could have been overcome and the slaves emancipated by the peaceful influence of public opinion.

Yourselves and the Neighbours. By Seumas MacManus. The Devin-Adair Company, New York. \$1.25.

An entertaining and instructive series of pen-and-ink pictures of Irish life and character. The most orderly, systematic, and well-regulated Puritan, if he is human, can hardly fail to find a certain indescribable charm not only in the virtues but also in the faults of the Irish character. In this book he meets the Irish men and women as they are interpreted by one who is himself an Irishman and a lover of Ireland.

Big Game Fields of America, North and South. By Daniel J. Singer. The George H. Doran Company, New York. \$2.25.

In a familiar and graphic way Mr. Singer tells of big game fields in many countries of North and South America. There is no attempt at literary style; but the incidents are exciting, and the book is made attractive by the author's photographs and by a few drawings printed in color, which are the work of the well-known animal painter Mr. Charles L. Bull.

Italian Gardens of the Renaissance and Other Studies. By Julia Cartwright. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. \$3.

No book by Julia Cartwright is uninteresting. A feature of particular interest in the present volume lies in its reference to the lives of

Beatrice and Isabella d'Este, which have been vividly chronicled by this author in previous publications. In the present volume she also gives us fascinating glimpses into the lives of other Italian men and women, and we get acquainted with them through the charming medium of Italian gardens.

Delightful Dalmatia. By Alice Lee Moqué. The Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. \$2.

Now that the war has brought Dalmatia into special prominence, public attention is being directed more and more to whatever strategic value that region may have. But our interest in its natural beauty, its archæology, its art, and its legendary lore is far greater. We learn much about all this in the present volume by Alice Lee Moqué. We would learn about it more directly, however, had not the author clogged her text with an over-amount of tiresome personal detail.

Wisdom of Father Brown (The). By G. K. Chesterton. The John Lane Company, New York. \$1.30.

This second volume of tales in which figures conspicuously Father Brown, the modest little Catholic priest who is also an astute detective, will give pleasure to admirers of Mr. Chesterton's fiction writing. The ease with which Father Brown reaches correct conclusions in apparently baffling cases, and that, not by following material clues, but by reasoning from point to point as to the meaning of simple things that every one has ignored, makes these stories of a type quite distinct from most books of this class.

Germany of To-Day. By Charles Tower. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 50c.

Probably never was there so much reading about Germany as is going on to-day. Books printed in other years are now being reprinted, and books published at a high price are now being republished at a low price. Among low-priced volumes Mr. Tower's should certainly be mentioned. In addition to the general information found in most books on Germany Mr. Tower calls attention to intellectual life in the Fatherland as shown in literature, the drama, and the press. As to art, however, he finds no characteristic German style proportionate in importance to German progress in other directions. Particularly in present-day painting, he adds, though there are famous portraitists and a number of famous art centers in Germany, it is difficult to trace a distinctive contemporary German art.

Our Knowledge of the External World. By Bertrand Russell. The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago. \$2.

Mr. Russell's main point is that logic is the essence of philosophy. M. Bergson's hostility to his position he regards as utterly harmful. Neither does he esteem evolutionism as more genuinely scientific than the tradition it has replaced. His elaborate argument for a really scientific method in philosophy is here un-

folded as given in the Lowell Lectures at Boston last spring. Those who are in quest of strenuous intellectual exercise will find plenty of it here. But Mr. Russell warns his readers at the outset that in his scientific philosophy they "must not hope to find answer to the practical problems of life." Logic is as unconcerned with ethics as mathematics is, and "ethical neutrality" is pronounced essential to philosophical success. A scientific method of reasoning that proclaims its indifference to the moral values of life bears on its forehead the brand of unreality.

Life of Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury). By Horace S. Hutchinson. The Macmillan Company, New York. 2 vols. \$9.

A biography of a really great Englishman, and one who, besides, was thoroughly likable. Sir John Lubbock was eminent alike in politics, science, and literature. He was the contemporary and originator of that seemingly age-old British institution the Bank Holiday; he was a prolific author of popular books; and his contributions to scientific investigation were notable. His biographer has given us, in two solid volumes, a dignified, interesting, and sympathetic account of the career of a remarkable man.

Memories. By John Galsworthy. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. \$1.50.

This thin quarto tells the story of a dog's life, the text being supplemented by twenty-eight pictures, four of which are in color. These illustrations by Miss Maud Earl are quite as good as the text, which is saying a great deal. Those who love dogs will love this book, as will also those who love literature.

Early American Churches. By Aymar Embury II. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York. \$2.80.

We are all fond of our Colonial churches. In their austere but lovely severity they are a type of the highest ideals of our early communities. Mr. Embury's book contains many interesting illustrations of the exteriors and interiors of those churches. His text is no less interesting. It is quite as valuable to the student of ecclesiastical history as it is to the student of architecture.

Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century (The). By William Edward Mead. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. \$4.

A delightful book of "fireside travels," "The Grand Tour" also has considerable historical interest. The roads, conveyances, inns, the people and institutions of the various countries that were visited on the Continental tour which the British youth of quality was privileged to take, in company with his tutor, as a finishing part of his education, are fascinatingly described. Many quaint illustrations add to the interest of a book that will be a delight to every present-day traveler who has taken a similar tour under modern conditions.

BY THE WAY

It is seldom that an inventor sees so fully the complete fruition of his labors as in the case of Dr. Alexander Graham Bell. In 1875 he first talked a short distance of a few feet over his epoch-making invention, the telephone. Last week he spoke to his assistant in his first experiments, Mr. Thomas W. Watson, clear across the American continent. Mr. Bell spoke in New York; his voice was clearly audible to his hearer in San Francisco, a distance of 3,400 miles. This development of the telephone in long-distance use brings it again before the public as one of the greatest wonders of a marvelous era of invention.

The newspapers report the death of Samuel Wagner, of Paris, Illinois, who is associated with one of the most popular American religious songs of the nineteenth century, "Hold the Fort." He was a soldier in the Civil War when it became his duty to wigwag a message from General Sherman to General Corse, who was holding Altoona Pass under great difficulties. The message was: "Hold the fort, for I am coming." This was afterwards used as the refrain in one of the Moody and Sankey revival hymns, and both the song and the phrase attained immense popularity.

Some of the scenes of devastation in the recent earthquakes in Italy are said to have been recorded in their original state by the film play "The Eternal City," which is to be produced in America this year. The play is based on the well-known romance with this title.

That was certainly clever "heckling" by an Amherst undergraduate which nearly floored a well-known pro-German lecturer recently. The lecturer said that Germany had offered to indemnify Belgium for any damage caused by the breach of neutrality involved in marching her armies through Belgium, and had assured the latter country that her independence would be undisturbed. The undergraduate interposed: "You say that Germany promised to indemnify Belgium and also to leave her independence undisturbed. But how did Belgium know that Germany would keep her promise?" The truth of this story has been denied, but as a parable it has much point.

The excitement in the wheat pit of Chicago owing to the war prices is well hit off in these sentences quoted from a well-known operator: "Order clerks are worn out. Pit traders wear tired expressions that cannot be painted. The entire U. S. is dreaming wheat. Poor Frank Norris—what copy he is missing!" Norris, it will be remembered, was the author of the great classic of the wheat market, "The Pit." He died in 1902 without completing his con-

templated series of novels on American industrial conditions.

"Less than ten per cent of the poultry and eggs reaching New York City come from nearby points. . . . The great bulk of the eggs used in the metropolis are produced in the States bordering on the Mississippi River." With fresh eggs selling at times at seventy cents a dozen in the retail markets of the great city, it would seem that there existed a large opportunity for the development of local production. This may perhaps be true as to the higher grade of eggs, but the cheaper feed of the Western egg farm is an advantage which the Eastern farm finds it hard to overcome.

"Majolica pitcher brings \$655 in sale," read Mrs. Fan, as reported in the Buffalo "Express." "Huh!" sneered Mr. Fan. "He can't be much of a player."

While the use of cotton has been lessened in many ways by the war, in one way its use has been increased, namely, in the manufacture of gun cotton. A 12-inch gun, says an American authority, uses up 300 pounds of powder, or about half a bale of the cotton from which this is made, every time it is fired. A battle-ship, firing at its greatest capacity, might use 5,000 to 6,000 pounds of powder, or from 10 to 12 bales of cotton, every minute during an action.

A novel feature in the Good Roads Show at Chicago recently was a model boulevard twenty feet wide and nearly five hundred feet long. Walks on each side of this were lined with evergreen and poplar trees, and a fountain was placed at one end. At night electric lights illuminated the miniature thoroughfare, completing a brilliant decorative scheme which was also educational, for the merits of various kinds of paving were illustrated in the construction of the boulevard.

Signs of the times in things theatrical are seen in the announcement that the principal theater of Brooklyn, the Montauk, has been closed because of the lack of suitable plays—the effect of the war; and that Augustin Daly's Theater in New York, an old-fashioned home of the "legitimate drama," has ceased to be such and has become "The Home of Burlesque," with "two performances daily; smoking permitted."

Most New York City subway travelers have had experiences that will make them appreciate this skit in the "Century:" "Maria," says the absent-minded gentleman as the twain pause at the theater's entrance, "seeing that I still have our subway tickets, I must have used our theater tickets to pay our fare!"